Constructs of power and authority and their attitidunal and behavioral outcomes: A comparative study of European and Polynesian first-line supervisors.

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CONSTRUCTS OF POWER AND AUTHORITY AND THEIR ATTITIDUNAL AND BEHAVIORAL OUTCOMES: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF EUROPEAN AND POLYNESIAN FIRST-LINE SUPERVISORS

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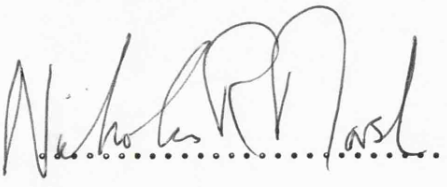
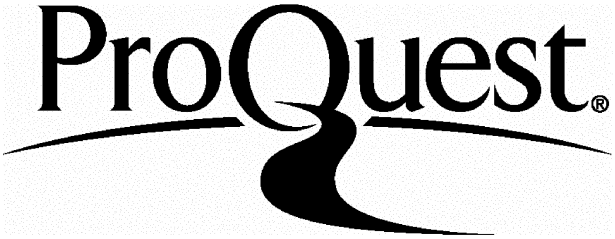
of the University of Bath

1978.





ABSTRACT

This thesis describes the results of an exploratory cross-cultural study of the constructs of power held by first-line supervisors in industrial factories in Auckland, New Zealand. A model was developed and tested which identified some of the antecedents of supervisory power constructs as being personality (measured by cognitive style and tolerance of ambiguity) and social values. Personality and social values were held to affect perception of work goals, bases of power, strategies of power, perceptions of job effectiveness, and job satisfaction.

The findings of the study were that Polynesian supervisors were more associated with field dependence, intolerance of ambiguity, and a pattern of power-construing which emphasised a referent-coercive power base and both surveillance for conformity and aggrandisement power strategies. Polynesian supervisors also reported themselves as being higher in socio-emotional effectiveness and in satisfaction with position. European supervisors were more associated with field dependence, tolerance of ambiguity, and a pattern of power-construing which laid less emphasis on a referent-coercive power base and surveillance and aggrandisement power strategies. European supervisors also reported themselves as being lower in socio-emotional effectiveness and in satisfaction with position. It was suggested that the inter-relationships which were identified between culture, personality, social values and power constituted an internally consistent conformity pattern of power-construing (associated with Polynesian supervisors), and a self assertion pattern of power-construing(associated with European supervisors).

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The research reported in this dissertation is part of a larger project in which the writer and Professor Albert Nedd of the University of Alberta were involved as co-researchers. Dr. Nedd was the research director of the project and assumed principal responsibility for the design of the project and the data analysis. The researchers shared equally the responsibilities for the data collection. The writer of this dissertation was principally responsible for the literature search, the interpretation, and the writing up of the data which is the subject matter of this thesis.

It is anticipated that some of the data reported in this thesis will be the subject of journal papers and monographs in which the thesis writer and Dr. Nedd will appear as co-authors.

The writer acknowledges the guidance and encouragement of his dissertation supervisor Professor Iain Mangham, of the Department of Management Studies, University of Bath. Professor Brian Henshall of the University of Auckland also provided much valuable assistance at critical stages in the formulation of the writer's dissertation topic.

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INTRODUCTION

(a) Objectives of Study

This study was designed to explore cultural differences in the way first-line supervisors construe power and develop power strategies directed towards the compliance of their subordinates. Research Literature suggested that the groups included in the study differed sharply along a dimension of Social Traditionalism and it was expected that these differences would also be reflected in differing personality characteristics and patterns of social values.

The main objectives of this exploratory study were to ascertain:

(i) To what extent the cultural groups construed power differently.

(ii) Whether these differences were associated with differences in personality characteristics and patterns of social values.

(b) Subjects

New Zealand has traditionally been a primarily pastoral country with a highly-developed agricultural sector. However, over the past forty years, an industrial sector has been developed, based mainly in Auckland. The demand for labour in the industrial sector has been a key factor in causing migration of both European and Polynesian (Maori) from rural to urban centres, and also the immigration of Pacific Islanders from the various islands in Polynesia most closely associated with New Zealand ie. mainly Tonga, Samoa, and the Cook Islands. Furthermore, the history of New Zealand is associated with migration flow from Britain (and to a lesser extent the European countries), what has continued up to the present day. One consequence of these patterns of migration is that at least four distinct cultural groups can be identified at the level of first-line

. . .

supervision in industrial factories in Auckland. These are:

Group 1 - Non-Indigenous European (British-born).

Group 2 - Indigenous European (New Zealand-born).

Group 3 - Indigenous Polynesian (New Zealand-born).

Group 4 - Non-Indigenous Polynesian (Pacific Island-born).

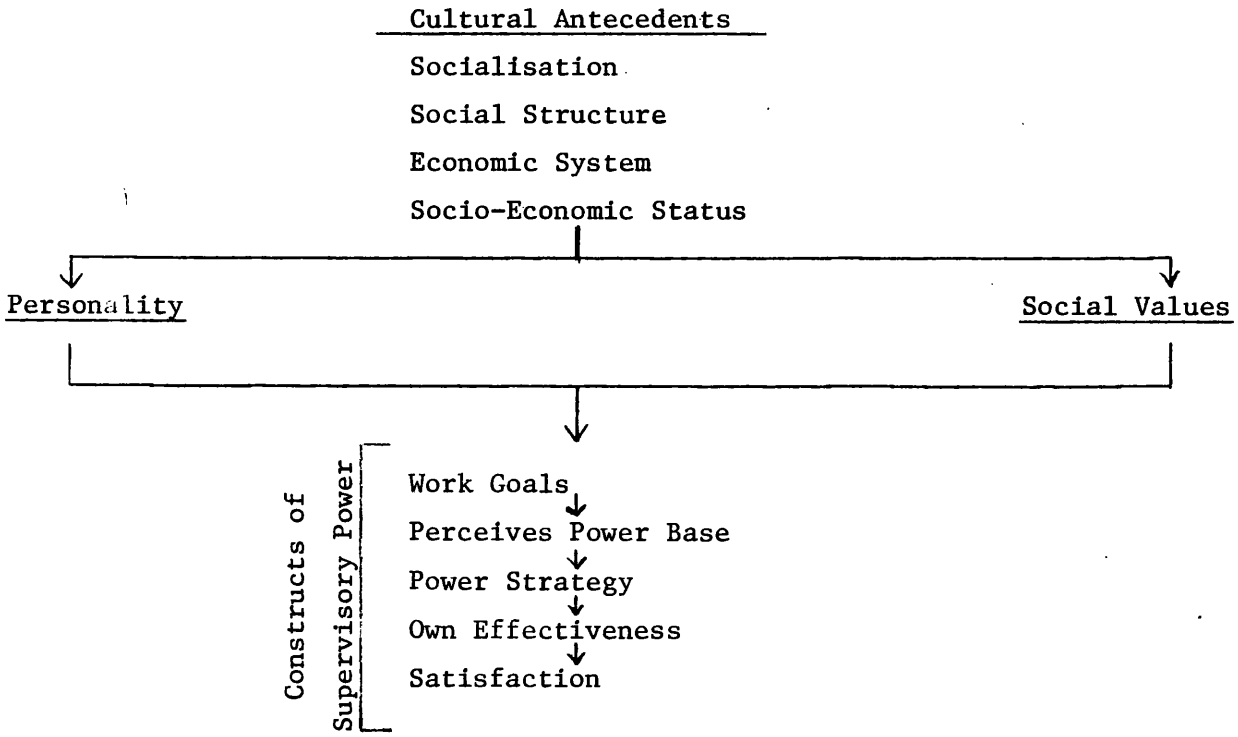
Two questionnaires and a psychological test were administered to a total sample of 218 subjects representing all of the available members of each cultural group currently employed in five large factories in Auckland.

(c) Research Model

Figure 1 illustrates the broad outline of the theoretical model guiding the research:

Figure 1

The Relationship between Cultural Differences and Supervisors' Constructs of Power



Cultural Antecedents (eg. Socialisation, Social Structure) were viewed as factors linked with distinctive patterns of cultural differences in both personality and social values which have certain implications for the construing of social power. Constructs of power are viewed as functions of personality and social values which in effect act as intervening variables for cultural differences. Work goals, as defined by the organisation, are seen as being subject to cultural effects in that supervisors from different cultures might value particular work goals differently. Power Base is the set of power resources (French and Raven, 1959) which the supervisor perceives he has at his disposal which may be utilised to achieve that compliance of his workers which will enable him to achieve his work goals. However, following Dahl (1957), the supervisor's Power Base is seen as passive, whilst his Power Strategy is the set of actions by which the supervisor tries to achieve the required compliance of his workers.

Both Effectiveness and Job Satisfaction are viewed as evaluations attached by the supervisor to particular dimensions of the job. The supervisor is assumed to be seeking to reduce Cognitive Dissonance (Festinger, 1957) between his social values, personality and chosen exercising of power, and the outcomes of that exercising of power, namely own effectiveness and job satisfaction. Consequently, the supervisors in each cultural group will tend to report themselves as being more effective and more satisfied on those job dimensions which they value more highly.

(d) Summary of Findings

(i) Culture, Personality, and Socio-Economic Status

Significant differences were found between the cultural groups in levels of socio-economic status, attachment to social values, and in personality. Polynesian supervisors had lower Socio-Economic Status, higher attachment to values of Social Conformity, and were lower in Tolerance of Ambiguity and Cognitive Style than were European supervisors. The latter were more highly attached to values of Self-Assertion than were Polynesians, but British and Pacific Island supervisors were more attached to values of Personal Efficacy whilst New Zealand European (Pakeha) and New Zealand Polynesian (Maori) supervisors valued Fatalism more highly.

(ii) Culture and Supervisory Power Constructs

Significant differences were found between the cultural groups in their attachments to constructs of power. Polynesian supervisors emphasised more strongly than did Europeans a Referent-Coercive Base of Power and Power Strategies of Surveillance for Conformity and Power Aggrandisement.

(iii) Culture and Outcomes of Supervisory Power

Significant differences were found between the cultural groups in Job Effectiveness and Job Satisfaction. Polynesian supervisors reported themselves as being higher in effectiveness in achieving socio-emotional goals and in Satisfaction with Position than did Europeans.

(iv) Personality, Social Values, and Constructs of Power

The differences in constructs of power identified between the cultural groups were found to be positively correlated with personality and social values.

(v) Impact of Organisational Factors

It was found that culture was a significant predictor of power constructs even when organisational factors (position, age, service, company) were held constant.

(vi) Conformity versus Self-Assertion Pattern of Power

It was suggested that the interrelationships which had been identified between culture, personality, social values, and power outlined above constituted an internal consistent Conformity pattern of power construing (associated with Polynesian supervisors) which contrasted with a Self-Assertion pattern of power construing (associated with European supervisors).

PART I SOCIAL TRADITIONALISM AND MODERNITY: CULTURAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE GROUPS

Traditionalism and Modernity

The empirical research on which this study is based was guided by a number of general hypotheses regarding the four cultural groups studied. First it was assumed that by contrasting European and Polynesian groups, comparison was being made between relatively modern and relatively traditional cultural groups. Secondly, it was assumed that these broader differences would be associated with corresponding differences between the groups in personality and social values. Finally, it was assumed that these individual differences would lead to different work behaviors and attitudes. More specifically it was hypothesized that differences in social values and personality would be associated with corresponding differences in the compliance strategies of supervisors (that is, the manner in which they exercised power and influence vis-a-vis their subordinates), their perceptions of their effectiveness as supervisors, and their satisfaction with their jobs.

Since this study rests so heavily on these contrasting situations of modernity and traditionalism it is incumbent at this stage of the thesis to indicate to the reader what these situations involve. Scholars have shown repeatedly that traditionalism and modernity refer to complex, and as yet imperfectly understood social, cultural and economic conditions and orientations. Furthermore, traditionalism and modernity are frequently associated with strikingly contrasting physical surroundings and seem to be found in their most extreme manifestations in different geographic locations. Traditionalism and modernity, therefore, constitute contrasting patterns of human existence which have ecological, economic, social, psychological and cultural dimensions.

The major focus in this thesis will be on the cultural dimensions of modernity and traditionalism. Hence, the value systems associated with these situations, namely social traditionalism and modernism, will be emphasized in detail. In this regard, this emphasis relates the thesis to a long-established preoccupation in the social science literature with contrasting cultural groups and societies. Students of modernization have frequently shown the relationships between social traditionalism and modernism and the potential of societies for social and economic development. Social traditionalism has been depicted as fostering sameness and inhibiting change in all aspects of economic and social life. Modernism, by contrast, has been seen as encouraging innovation, scientific discovery and economic, social and political development. Modernism comprises a pattern of values, attitudes and behaviors which regards change with positive salience, even when the specific outcomes are uncertain and unpredictable. The syndrome of values, attitudes and behaviors which constitute social traditionalism support social stability and the continuity of the existing state of affairs (Black, 1967; Inkeles and Smith 1974).

Cultural aspects of traditionalism and modernity

Culture has been defined as "the relatively constant non-material content transmitted in a society by means of processes of sociation" (Becker 1968, p. 251), and more simply as "an organisation or integration of conventional understandings" (Redfield, 1947, p. 298). However, the construct of culture can only be made meaningful and operational by the identification of different types of culture and in particular by identifying the characteristics of traditional as opposed to modern cultures. However, this identifying and classifying of characteristics has been made difficult by the sheer complexity of culture. The contribution of individual writers in the literature has been mainly to identify a major element, such as social values, which will typically reflect the

narrow disciplinary base of the writer. Few have attempted to combine elements from relevant disciplines such as Anthropology, Sociology, Psychology, and Economics. Many writers have pointed out that individual elements they have identified as capable of use in differentiating a traditional from a modern culture are useful only as guides; as Redfield says "societies of the world do not range themselves in the same order with regard to the degree to which they realise all of the characteristics of the ideal folk society" (Redfield, 1947, p. 306).

Becker's dichotomy of sacred and secular societies focussed on the element of orientation to change. He states that "a network of sociation that develops, among the personalities weaving and woven by it, a high degree of readiness and capacity to change, particularly in their social order, is a secular society". A sacred society is one which has a high resistance to change (Becker, 1950, 368 - 369). Becker regards the degree of contact with other cultures (communication) as a key factor in orientation to change. Isolation marks the sacred society (i.e. traditional) whilst accessibility marks the secular (i.e. modern) society. He points out that three features of communication -- vicinal (i.e. geographic/physical), social (i.e. social relationship), and mental (i.e. mutual understanding) must all be examined when studying isolation.

Another approach to studying contrasting societies with respect to their divergent value structures, is to focus on patterns of social relationships. Tonnies (1957) contrasts relationships in which natural will predominates as gemeinschaft with those which are formed and fundamentally conditioned by rational will, which are called gesellschaft (Tonnies, 1957, p. 269). Essentially this dichotomy focusses attention

on the notion of relationships as ends in themselves (as in traditional societies) as opposed to relationships as means entered into through agreement to reach recognised ends (as in modern societies). Tonnies uses four dichotomous features of relationships in order to clarify the socio-emotional tone of gemeinschaft and gesellschaft; acquaintanceship and strangeness, sympathy and antipathy, confidence and mistrust, and interdependence. It should be noted that Tonnies uses social relationship as a building block for the study of societies, and that this approach is similar to Sorokin's 1969 familistic v. contractual relations and Weber's communal v. associative as well as others (Sorokin, 1969; Gerth and Miles, 1946).

Another approach of great significance is represented by Parson's Pattern Variables, which he argues comprise a framework for analysis of all social action. Parsons (Parsons and Shils, 1951) identified five bi-polar value-based orientations whose poles may be associated with traditional and modern poles. These are:

Traditional Modern

affectivity v. affective neutrality, i.e. accepting an opportunity for gratification without regard for its consequences, or evaluating it with regard for its consequences.

particularism v. universalism, i.e. treat all objects according to their relationship standing, or treat all objects in same category alike.

ascription v. achievement, i.e. treat according to inherent qualities, or on basis of results expected.

diffuseness v. specificity, e.i. concern with all aspects of a person, or limit involvement with a person to a specific range.

collectivity-orientation v. self-orientation, i.e. treat according to collective or self interest.

The Folk-Urban typology of Redfield links together a set of attributes, including those discussed above. Redfield (1947) identifies in great detail an ideal Folk (traditional) society, leaving the identification of the ideal Urban society as being the antithesis of the folk conditions. His elements include:

Folk (i.e. traditional)

general features

small, isolated, non-literate, homogenous, economically independent, little division of labour, no secondary/tertiary tools, no use commercial power.

social structure

extended family, no legislation

social behavior

kinship dominated, traditional, spontaneous, uncritical , personalized intimate communication, strong in group solidarity.

social values

no habit of experiment, no reflection for intellectual ends, uncritical integration of life activities, authority of tradition, sacredness of conventions, lack of commercial motive.

More recent studies of traditional societies have attempted to identify relationships between elements such as those mentioned above. Berry (1971) and Dasen (1974) have contrasted food accumulating and hunting societies and found relationships between the ecology, economic system, socialisation practices, and individual differences (including health, nutrition , perception skills, personality characteristics, and social values).

In the present study described in this thesis traditionalism will be defined along a number of dimensions which constitute an integrated model

of social life. Firstly, it is assumed that the ecology (physical environment, climate, etc.) affects patterns of exploitation of the environment (economic systems, technology, etc.). These exploitation systems require the maintenance of congruent social structures (e.g. social organisation, population, social stratification, etc.) and furthermore they have outcomes for the people involved (e.g. health, diet, income, etc.). The maintenance of the social structures in turn is dependent on the existence of congruent social values (e.g. achievement v. ascription status, self v. collective orientation) which are most effectively implanted during socialisation; consequently the socialisation practices (e.g. child-rearing) need to be appropriate for the formation of desired social values in the next generation.

Cultural differences between the four cultural groups

In this section, an attempt will be made to identify where each of the cultural groups reported on in this study stand in terms of the patterns of modernity and traditionalism. In doing so, the physical, economic, sociological and cultural correlates of their particular location on these dimensions will also be identified. This section will therefore compare the four groups in terms of their (1) ecology, (2) economic system, (3) social structure and social organisation, (4) socialisation, and (5) social values.

(1) Ecology. Whilst the precise effect of the physical ecology on culture is not firmly established in the literature, it is clear that physical conditions do affect peoples by imposing certain requirements pertaining to the economic systems required to survive in and exploit the natural environment. The Pacific Islanders in New Zealand have come from

an area in the Pacific known as the Polynesian triangle, formed by Hawaii at the apex, and Easter Island in the far east, with New Zealand forming the base of the imaginary "triangle" (Crocombe, 1974, p. 10). Considerable doubt surrounds the precise origins of the Polynesian people and the means by which they settled in the Pacific Islands, although it is agreed that they originate from a common cultural base and location, and notwithstanding minor variations, that contemporary Pacific Island culture is roughly similar throughout this area (Beaglehole, 1957, p. 258). Furthermore, it is agreed that the Polynesian region of the Pacific Islands is of volcanic origin and has always been an island world (Oliver, 1961, p. 65). These islands do, however, differ somewhat in size, ecology, fertility, though not in climate and economic systems. One of the larger islands, Savaii (Western Samoa) is 1820 sq. km., whilst in the Tokelau Islands "there is nowhere a piece of land more than a few chains across from the sea to the lagoon" (V.T.C. 1975, p. 8). The islands may be classified geographically in the following way:

High Islands - mountainous with steep hill slopes, though much arable land.

Raised Atolls - narrow coastal strip, low inland plateau.

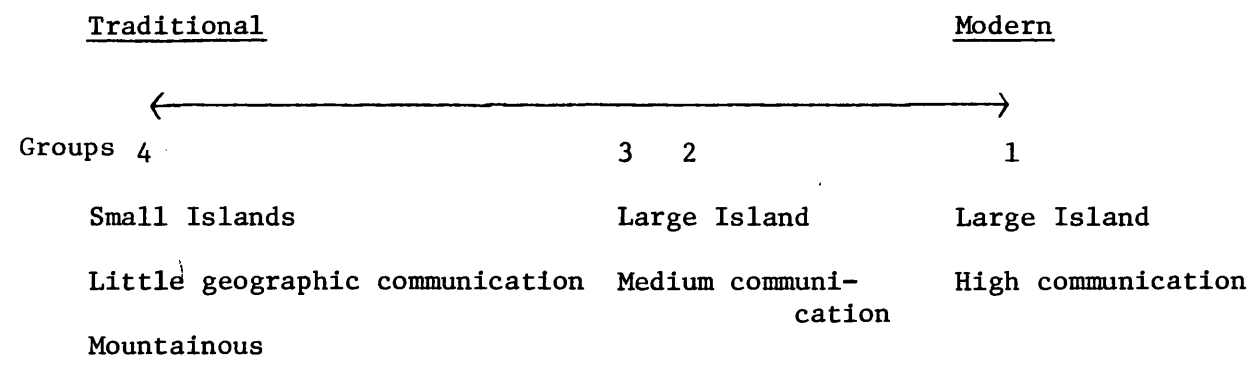
Low Atolls - small, infertile coral islands forming a circle around a shallow lagoon.

Virtually all Pacific Islands are surrounded by a coral reef which is a critical element in the provision of protein through fishing. Climate is tropical (i.e. hot, wet, humid) with many islands exposed to occasional hurricanes (e.g. Samoa in 1966) and even tidal waves or earthquakes which are very damaging to the environment given the pattern of living at or near sea-level.

In contrast, the two islands of New Zealand are much larger (268,000 sq. km.) and provide a range of climate from sub-tropical in the North to cool-temperate in the South. New Zealand is also of volcanic and earthquake origin and the terrain is largely mountainous and hilly, with large stretches of grassland suitable for limited forms of farming. The Maori people live mainly in the North Island whilst only 2/3 of the Europeans live there.

Thus, ecological differences mark the Pacific Islands, New Zealand, and Britain. Geographically, the Pacific Islands are isolated from each other by relatively large distances, and poor transport infrastructure, and are markedly isolated from New Zealand (e.g. Rarotonga is 1634 miles from New Zealand) as also is Britain (12,000 miles from New Zealand).

Figure 2 Cultural Differences - Ecology



This diagram demonstrates schematically the ecological differences between the four cultures with the Pacific Islands (group 4) having the most traditional ecology, whilst the other three groups situated in New Zealand and Britain share a relatively more "modern" ecology.

(2) Economic System. The cultural groups differ significantly along the dimensions of exploitation of the environment. The pattern of exploitation in the Pacific Islands is one of crop agriculture (mainly vegetable and fruit) supported by fishing (mainly within the small coral reef). Much

of this activity may be classified as subsistence in that the food products are consumed by the producers (Lockwood, 1971). Commercial agriculture is relatively undeveloped due to several reasons:

(a) Even the urban population in the Pacific Islands have land on which household food is grown so there is an underdeveloped domestic market.

(b) Export markets are limited (e.g. by distance) and a suitable commercial infrastructure is not developed. The main agricultural export is copra, the world price of which has fallen over the past 20 years.

(c) Social values of tradionalism mitigate against production beyond the immediate survival wants of the social group, in particular kin group (Lockwood, 1971).

With regard to the effect of Urbanism, just over 1/5 of the population in Tonga and Samoa live in urban centres (Walsh, 1972, p. 17) but these centres are merely collections of villages in which traditional life may not have changed significantly. In New Zealand, 68% of Maoris live in urban areas whilst 79% of Europeans do so (Metge, 1976, p. 78). However, it must be remembered that the definition of town, village, and city is of low utility when comparing societies as diverse in population size as the Pacific Island nations (ranging from a few thousand to 150,000), New Zealand (2,900,000) and Britain (60 million).

Income level provides another variable which is related to tradition-alism. In the subsistance economies of the Pacific Islands, income is low; in Samoa the average per capita income in 1969 was W.S. $39.00 (Shankman, 1976, p. 63). Income in New Zealand is significantly higher for Europeans than for Maoris (24.1% Maoris and 41.1% Europeans earned in excess of $3,000. in 1971 - Metge, 1976, p. 87), but comparison of income levels between New Zealand and Britain show a similarity of average income.

Industrial activity in the Pacific Islands is mainly limited to building and maintenance, basic consumer articles, and some processing of agricultural products. There is, however, a recent trend in a few limited locations (in addition to established resorts in Fiji and Hawaii) for the development of tourist facilities which may in the future become a significant domestic industry.

New Zealand by contrast is a highly developed dairy and meat producer with a tradition of high exporting to Europe of dairy, meat, wool and also timber products. Though primarily a pastoral economy (15% of the population works in farming compared with 6% in Britain), there has been a rapid post-war growth of an industrial sector which has, however, been based in the Auckland and the Wellington urban regions of the North Island. This sector covers a range of industrial activity though is not nearly as differentiated nor is based on the large scale of the British industrial sector. The structure of New Zealand industry is marked by a preponderance of small companies (90% of companies are less than 50 employees), using relatively simple technology to supply a limited variety of consumer goods and services.

Maoris, Europeans and Pacific Islanders differ significantly in patterns of occupational grouping and occupational level in New Zealand.

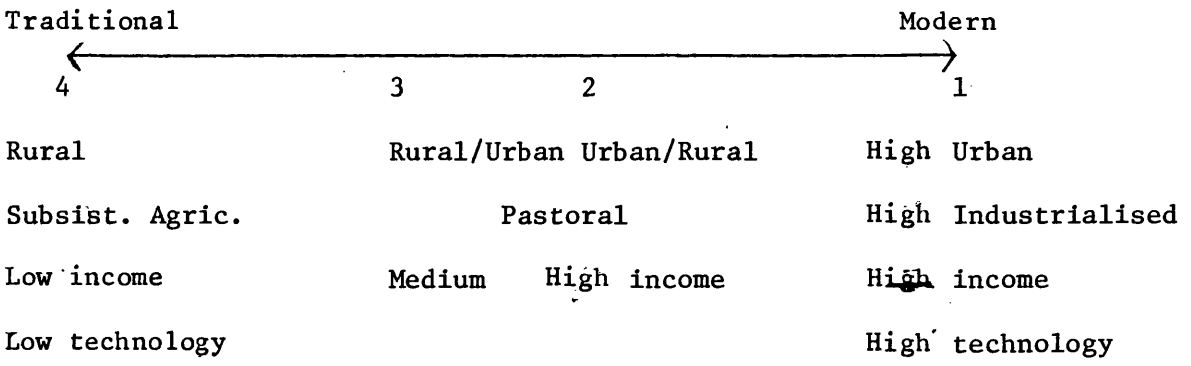
Occupational group	Europeans	Maori	P.I.	(1971 Census)
Production & Transport	37.9%	59.9%	72.1%	

There is considerable evidence to show that Maoris and Pacific Islanders are largely employed at the unskilled and semi-skilled levels although Maoris are more represented in primary industry than Pacific Islanders (New Zealand Census, 1971).

Other socio-economic factors may be used briefly to demonstrate differences between the cultural groups. Diet in the Pacific Islands tends to be low in protein (due to lack of animals) and high in carbohydrate; this pattern is repeated to a lesser extent with the Maori population, though the relative low cost of dairy and meat products in New Zealand leads to higher diet quality. It is interesting to note that Samoans consider their traditional food gives them highly valued strength and virility while European food gives intelligence (Pitt, 1971). There is little data on health patterns in the Pacific Islands though the health of Maoris has always been significantly poorer than that of Europeans in New Zealand (see Metge, 1976,).

In conclusion, we may group the four cultures schematically according to their status on a broad dimension of economic life.

Figure 3 Cultural Differences - Economic System



(3) Social Structure and Social Organization. The study of Polynesian society, by anthropologists and sociologists in particular, has a long tradition which has resulted in an extensive literature describing ancient Polynesia, and also describing social life both in the Pacific Islands and amongst the natives of New Zealand in modern times. The aim of the present discussion will be to describe the fundamental principles of

Polynesian culture, while also presenting evidence of the extent to which social change has altered the culture in the present day. Whilst the primary distinction in this discussion will be drawn between Polynesian and European cultures, a number of distinctions will be drawn within each of these two cultural sets.

a) Status systems. The discussion of status draws on Nadel's definition, he said "By status, I shall mean the rights and obligations of any individual relative both to those of others and to the scale of worthwhileness valid in the group" (Nadel, 1953, p. 171). A fundamental dichotomy of status has been formulated by Linton (1936), who distinguished between ascribed (i.e. that status attached to a person regardless of his attitudes and behavior) and achieved (i.e. that status attached to a person on the basis of his perceived attitudes and behavior). In distinguishing between the social outcomes of ascribed and achieved status, Nadel (1953) noted, "Inasmuch as a group operates with ascribed status it is rigid and static, in the opposite case it possesses mobility and implies competition". (p. 192).

Status is an important starting point in discussing Polynesian culture because, as Goldman points out, "In Polynesia, it is the status system, specifically the principles of aristocracy, that gives direction to the social structure as a whole" (Goldman, 1970, p. 7). Whilst the sub-varieties of Polynesian status systems include ascribed and achieved status they may be described as being based on ascription when compared to the achievement base of European status systems.

As Goldman (1970) says concerning ancient Polynesia, "Broadly speaking, rank is genealogical. Genealogy, however, is no single factor of hereditary status. Polynesia takes account of primogeniture, of senior

descent lines, of sex line, of genealogical depth, and, in the overall, of genealogical distinction that is, the history of the line,(p.9). Much attention has been paid by writers on Polynesia to classifying the variations in social stratification (e.g. Firth, 1957; Sahlins, 1959), but in effect these are only variations on a theme of relatively rigidly stratified societies where birth is of prime importance in determining status. Goldman (1970) has described the key principles of status in Polynesia as:

(i) Mana - is the primary concept of power and it signifies power beyond the ordinary (i.e. supernatural) possessing and possessed by extra-ordinary individuals (Schwimmer, 1968). "Every Maori inherits some mana from his ancestors: whether it is more or less depends on seniority of descent, sex and birth order in the family. This basic inheritance can be amplified by direct contact with the supernatural, . . . and/or by achievement in a variety of fields both traditional and modern" (Metge, 1976, p. 64). Metge also notes that Mana depends on the recognition and approval of <u>others</u>.

In modern times, the meaning of Mana has changed in emphasis somewhat from the ascribed to achieved element of power. It is interesting to note that in New Zealand, as well as throughout the Pacific Islands, the word "Mana" is used by both Polynesian and European sections of the population to describe the social standing of a person.

(ii) Tohunga - this has the connotation of expertness in such things as religious skills, craft skills, and administrative skills. There is some overlap between Tohunga and Mana because both have a sacred and secular implication. The Tohunga position in Maori life could be compared with notions of witchdoctor, wise man, priest, healer, and enabled some

persons of lowly genealogy but high ability to be trained in specialised knowledge and skills and be accorded high status though not necessarily chiefly power. This contrasts with the requirement of the chief and aristocratic group to have very high Mana in order for the social system to recognise their position of leadership.

(iii) Toa - this refers to skills and strengths applicable in war. Ancient Polynesian society was marked by continuous periods of inter-tribal wars, and physical prowess in particular was an important part of status. In modern times the great pride of the Maoris concerning the belligerence of the Maori Battalion in the two World Wars, as well as the continuing value placed on physical strength, indicates the modern inheritance of toa.

(iv) Seniority - this includes seniority based on simple primogeniture, also of descent line, of sex line, and of age. In ancient pre-literate Polynesia, the descent lines were part of the secret mystical knowledge held by the Tohunga and this has survived in the importance of whakapapa (descent lines) in modern Maori life (Metge, 1976, p. 127). In Pacific Islands such as W. Samoa, this knowledge is still kept partly secret by the Tulefale (i.e. kin group orators) because of its enormous power in social life to determine the relative status of each individual in the village (Holmes, 1958).

(v) Sanctity of Male Line - Polynesian society is primarily patrilineal although in Tonga there is a combined patrilineal/matrilineal system in which, whilst kinsmen related to a person's father have higher status than those related to his mother, female kin have higher status than male kinsmen of the same generation (Marcus, 1975, p. 140).

(vi) Reciprocity - The gaining of power by being seen to give generously. Firth described this principle "as one of the fundamental drives to action" in Polynesia (Firth, 1959, p. 412-417), and in the Maori form of "utu" (i.e. obligation) "it was the rule that whatever one party gave to, did to or did for another must be reciprocated with a return of equivalent or higher value, either immediately or at later date" (Metge, 1976, p. 15). Reciprocity thus includes notions of revenge (and thus formed the rationale for endless inter-tribal skirmishes) as well as notions of distribution of property or gift exchange. Distribution of property as a basis of status maintenance or status enhancement can be clearly demonstrated by examples such as lavish feasts for visitors on Aitutaki (Graves and Graves, 1975), public giving of money to the church in Tonga and Samoa (Toupouniua, 1977; Lockwood, 1971), and distribution by the Matai (chief) in Samoa of food production to the aiga (extended family).

b) Kinship. For Polynesians, the kinship system is of central importance in the culture as a concomitant of the status system. Not only rank and status is determined by birth, but the whole orientation of self and the meaning of personal identity emanates from identification with family. Several principles concerning Polynesian kinship can be described:

i) A large kinship universe - the Polynesian family is the extended family, in contrast to the European focus on the nuclear family. Various writers (e.g. Pitt and McPherson, 1976; Metge, 1976) have described how most Polynesians are still able to identify up to 200 or so living relatives, and that Maoris, for example, when talking to Pakehas of relatives beyond first cousin, describe them as Maori cousins because they believe that Pakehas do not recognise such people as being related (Metge, 1976).

Polynesians still base their social organisation on the extended family. "In social terms the Samoa village consists of a number of local lineage or extended family groups (aiga)" (Lockwood, 1971, p. 32). Samoan society in New Zealand, in common with other Pacific Island nationalities, retains a strong attachment to kinship, not only to kin within New Zealand, but also to kin back in the village in Samoa (Pitt and McPherson, 1976).

Another indication of the kinship universe is the fact that Polynesians typically apply nuclear family relationship terms for all kin of the same sex and same generation. Thus during childhood the Polynesian child is socialised to freely associate with and accept all kin of the same generation of his biological mother and father as also being mothers and fathers to him, similarly with grandparents and siblings (V.T.C. 1975).

(ii) Rank and status within the kinship group - the kinship group supplies every member with a fixed rank and status relative to every other member. In this way, it extends the status derived from genealogical and descent principles described above. Basically, these principles involve primogeniture, superiority of age, superiority of sex. Thus, for example, the first-born male on both the mother's and father's side of the family is superior in rank and status to all other siblings, and to their children. He is inferior to all siblings of his parents, who in turn are inferior to all siblings of their parents and so on. This superiority is manifested in acceptance of authority and also in inheritance and distribution of goods.

(iii) Reciprocity - The principle of reciprocity ("utu" in Maori) has been mentioned above in the context of inter-tribal relationships but it also has fundamental significance in intra-kin and inter-kin relations. In essence, the kinship group is a cooperative society in which

productive activity, capital resources, land resources, and material goods are used for the benefit of, and owned by, the family. Furthermore, status and prestige is dependent on the high ranking person maintaining his status by being seen to give generously i.e. giving = status. "For the poor, the extended family offers security and assistance; for the rich, social satisfactions gained from prestige in helping poorer relations" (Walsh, 1972, p. 25). However, membership in this"cooperative society" is dependent on continuously meeting obligations of conformity to its norms and rules. One reciprocity rule is to give articles or other personal resources (e.g. own skill, time, etc.) in ones possession to another kinsman on the basis of his request (mainly informal) or perceived desire to have them. In giving, one gains prestige but also gains "an obligation on the part of the receiver to reciprocate at some time in the future" (Lockwood, 1971, p. 208). The subleties of this system is that "the balance of exchange should never fall too heavily on one side or the other, but it should also never be equalised, for to pay off all obligations would be to eliminate the social fabric that binds a relationship together" (Howard, 1970, p. 216).

Thus the principle of reciprocity has fundamental implications in Polynesian society; firstly, the accumulation of personal wealth can only make sense as a basis for increasing social status by the giving away of it (also, too much wealth alters the symmetry of the relationship by reducing the opportunity for reciprocation). Secondly, by absolute conformity to fixed norms of kinship behavior, the individual is guaranteed economic and emotional security throughout his life. This is in contrast to European socialisation which emphasises the responsibility of the individual to accumulate personal wealth for his own security, and that only of his immediate dependents, due to the lack of an extended family obligation.

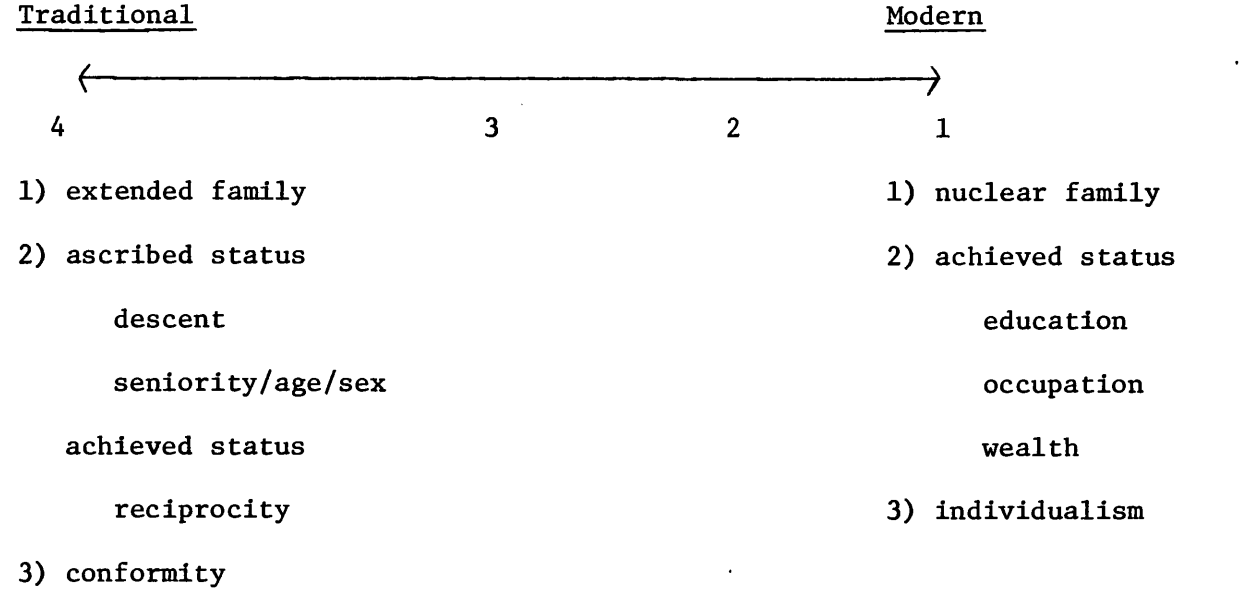
It should also be noted that whilst urban life in New Zealand may tend to physically scatter the Polynesian kinship group, it also provides an incentive to the Pacific Islander in New Zealand to retain the obligation of kin as an "Adaptive Strategy" in the process of assimilation (Graves and Graves, 1974; Pitt and McPherson, 1976). Walsh notes that in Tonga, "in the town both rich and poor kin recognise a greater number of family members than they would in the villages" (Walsh, 1972, p. 25). This Adaptive Strategy enables the individual to gain free access to a wide variety of skills, knowledge, contacts, material resources, etc. (i.e. represented in his kin group of 200 or so persons) which enable him to cope in the highly differentiated and strange urban environment.

Migration (both within the Pacific Islands, and between them and New Zealand) is essentially of the "chain migration" type in which members of the kin group become established in the new environment (after having been financed initially by the kin group), and then are obligated to sponsor and support the migration of other kin. This obligation enables the sponsoring kin to gain status as well as the psychological support of being surrounded by their close reference group.

One further implication of the extended kinship system which is well documented in studies of traditional societies, is that the economic security guaranteed to the individual by his meeting of kinship obligations is enhanced by large family size. Prior to modern health care, regular procreation was necessary due to high infant mortality, but today in the Pacific Islands, and to a lesser extent amongst the New Zealand Maoris, there are larger sizes of families than amongst Europeans in New Zealand (1971 New Zealand Census, Ritchie and Ritchie, 1970).

In summary, the diagram below is a schematic representation of the position of the four cultural groups on the dimension of social organisation. In essence, Groups 4 and 3 are perceived to be located towards the Traditional Pole (extended family, ascribed status, etc.), whilst groups 1 and 2 are located towards the Modern Pole (nuclear family, achieved status, etc.):

Figure 4 Cultural Differences - Social Organisation



(4) Socialisation and Child-Rearing. Socialisation processes are a critical variable in the measurement of culture since it is through socialisation that the individual "learns the ways of a given society or social group well enough so that he can function within it" (Elkin, 1960, p. 4). Thus as patterns of attitudes and behavior can be identified as differing between cultural groups it is axiomatic that socialisation will also differ. But socialisation consists not just of the passing on of a set of knowledge (i.e. "content") but also consists of characteristic behavior of parents (i.e. "process") which

also tends to implant the key notions of the parent's culture. The fundamental process of socialisation is that of child-rearing since the relationship between child and parental figures (nuclear family parents, or extended family) typically provides the initial patterning of emotional and cognitive systems in the child.

Polynesian child-rearing practices are well documented and provide a clear contrast with European practices. In essence, these practices are similar to the pattern of traditional peoples of "early indulgence and later control" (Hagan, 1961 p. 144-146). In this pattern, the child receives great affection, attention, intimate body contact, warmth, and permissiveness up until the age of 18 months to 2 years. At that point, however, there is a dramatic break in which the child experiences rejection by his parents; he receives less attention and respect, considerable indifference, and also punishment from his parents. He is now required to be away from the family home more, to play on his own, and to come under the care of a parent-substitute; an older sibling (Crocombe, 1974).

During this stage, which lasts until early adolescence, the child will increasingly be expected to perform jobs, both in the house and in the garden or farm (Hohepa 1964), which are delegated by the child's mother to the elder siblings who in turn will delegate tasks to younger siblings which fit their physical abilities. As the male child develops in physical ability he will increasingly be expected to help his father on the family plot of land (or in fishing), learning the basic skills required. The method of learning will be primarily through observing and copying the actions of adults rather than through extensive verbal discussion with them (Crocombe 1974). When the child is not required to be working he is expected to amuse himself without calling

upon his parents' attention to any great extent e.g. his parents are unlikely to be willing to play with the child for any length of time. The Polynesian children will play in sibling groups and peer groups (i.e. of similar age) often away from the family house; the older sibling retains delegated authority from the parents to 'look after' the child (i.e. to act as surrogate parent). The older sibling is answerable to the parents for his performance in minding the younger child and will expect to be punished by his parents if he contravenes the general 'policy' which the parents hold concerning acceptable attitudes and behaviors of their children. Thus the older sibling may be expected to treat the younger child according to the rules and norms of his own parents.

The final stage of Polynesian child-rearing occurs during early adolescence when the child's role changes to that of 'young adult'. At the age of about thirteen years the child will be increasingly expected to work with adults and older siblings on the family landholding. He will tend to leave the company of younger children and peers and come under the direct and constant attention and discipline of his parents. In effect he is being prepared to become a responsible adult member (albeit junior), of the household. This junior-adult status is reached at about fifteen years but it is not until 25-30 years (Ritchie 1964; Mead 1928) that he achieves full adult status in the household and community.

Before discussing European child-rearing it may be appropriate to consider the effects on the Polynesian child which arise from his child-rearing. One effect of the first few years of the child's life which has been posited by Ritchie (1964) is that the child learns that 'adults can provide gratification, but efforts by the child to obtain such gratification are of no predictable certainty. Self doubt, an excessive vigilance and profound distrust of the adult world may well be

the result' (p. 248). As Hagan (1962) points out the pattern of traditional child-rearing (which is so similar to the Polynesian pattern) may teach the child to believe that he cannot hope to control his environment or even affect it to any marked degree. This belief (and the anxieties associated with it) can arise from the child learning that his parents' responses to his needs are both unpredictable and/or capricious in that they tend to relate to his parents' needs rather than his own.

A second effect of Polynesian child-rearing is suggested by Earle (1958) as arising from the child's dependency on his peer groups during his middle years. The child may learn to conform to the norms of the peer group which Earle describes as not being seen to be different from other children, not displaying imagination in play, and not aspiring to be better than the others.

A third effect may consist of a dependency on and special respect for authority figures and a belief in the salience of a social world in which everybody has a fixed place within a hierarchy of relationships. The delegation of authority in childhood from the parents down through the older siblings to the younger siblings constitutes the pattern of relationships which will remain in adult life (Ausubel 1965).

Yet another effect of Polynesian child-rearing which has been suggested is that the child, even during the middle period when he is relatively free to play within his peer group, is gradually being socialised (e.g. through the family tasks he has to perform) to accepting the security of a fixed position and pattern of behavior in the community. At the age of 15 the rural Polynesian is faced with the choice of either accepting that position, or of abandoning completely his family

and community and risking a life in an unknown and unpredictable community.

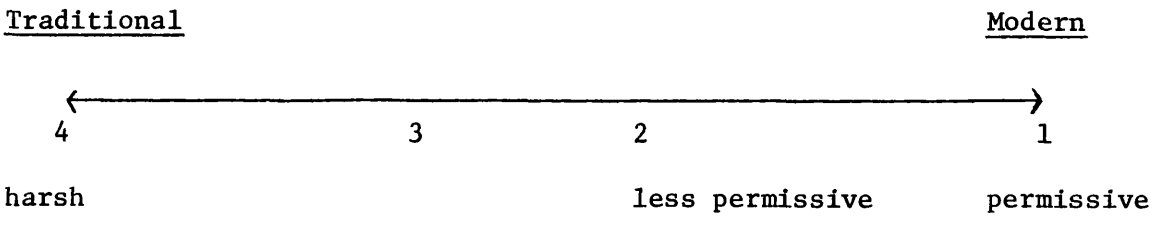
In contrast to the traditional child-rearing of the Polynesians the detailed research of the Newsomes (1965; 1970) in England, and to a lesser extent Ritchie and Ritchie (1970) in New Zealand suggests that to some extent the prevailing pattern of child-rearing is more characteristic of Hagan's (1962) 'considerate or permissive parenthood' than of the Polynesian pattern. The overriding difference is that the child tends to be related to by the parent on his own terms, that is his demands for need gratification and responded to by the parent primarily from the point of view of the child rather than to satisfy the parents' needs. Furthermore the implicit aim of this child-rearing is to develop independence in the child so that he will be able to succeed in the outside world, rather than to develop a dependency of the child on the parents. In order to achieve this independence the parents not only seek to respond to the child on his own level, but in a sense to de-emphasise his submission to their authority (and also that of older siblings). Hagan describes the implications of this "considerate" child-rearing as essentially being that the child perceives the world not as a threatening, capricious set of arbitrary forces, but as a differentiated environment which can be restored and made to serve individual needs and desires (Hagan, 1962).

In a study of child-rearing in New Zealand (Ritchie and Ritchie, 1970) it was found that whilst significant differences existed between Pakeha and Maori patterns there was also a striking difference between child-rearing in urban and rural settings. Samples were drawn from six populations:

Urban (city)	Pakeha
Urban (city)	Maori
Rural (small town)	Pakeha
Rural (small town)	Maori
Rural (traditional village)	Maori
Rural (farm)	Pakeha

One example of the differences was that Urban Pakehas and Urban Maoris, and Farm Pakeha mothers were significantly more affectionate towards their child than were the other groups. Generally speaking, the pattern was that permissive (modern) child-rearing existed in the city samples with the Pakehas being more permissive in some dimensions than Maoris, whilst less-permissive patterns existed in the rural samples. The harshest child-rearing was among the Maori small-town parents. [However, in discussing these results it is necessary to beware of methodological deficiencies and lack of sophisticated analysis (Ritchie and Ritchie, p. 13) -- one explanatory variable in the study was apparently socio-economic-status, especially income level, which was much higher in the city, and in the farm sample.]

Figure 5. Cultural Differences - Child Rearing



In summary, the four cultural groups may be differentiated according to modernity or traditionalism of their child-rearing. The diagram above

indicates that groups 4 and 3 are contrasted as being "harsh" (traditional) in their child-rearing, whilst groups 1 and 2 are relatively permissive (modern).

(5) Social Values. The foregoing discussion of child-rearing has indicated that certain social values are developed and integrated during childhood into a view of the world, which may be said to provide a blueprint for social behavior during adulthood. The literature will be reviewed to identify differential attachments to specific social values amongst the cultural groups. The particular social values discussed have been drawn from the existing consensus in the literature on social traditionalism concerning those values which distinguish a traditional from a modern orientation (Inkeles and Smith, 1974). These social values are here divided between those which concern the individual's relation to his world, and those which concern his social relationships:

Self and world

i) fatalism versus personal efficacy
ii) low versus high change orientation or risk orientation
iii) orientation to past versus orientation to present/future
iv) mystical versus materialist view of world, high versus low religious affiliation

Self and relationships

i) high versus low kin dependency
ii) low versus high interpersonal trust
iii) collective versus self orientation, conformity versus self-assertion
iv) verbal versus literacy skills
v) ascribed versus achieved status
vi) surveillance versus privacy

Each dimension will be examined in the light of the literature in its application to the four cultural groups.

Self and World

(i) Fatalism versus personal efficacy - This dimension refers to a feeling that the world is composed of arbitrary and capricious forces which cannot be controlled, the most appropriate coping behavior being to passively accept whatever happens.

Lockwood studied the state of agriculture in Samoan villages and found that "most villagers regard pests and diseases. . .fatalistically" (p. 15) despite extensive propaganda and educational programmes from the Department of Agriculture. Pitt (1970, p. 26) identified an important saying in Samoa "tali i lagi vai o A'opa" -- "the necessities of life will always be provided". This provides the positive aspect of the attitude towards food production that whatever happens, there will be sufficient food.

In terms of social relations, Mead points out that in Samoan society, although the Matai is chosen by the kinship group on the basis of his achievement, he cannot be active in seeking his successful election. "The individual is still a pawn on the social chess board" without the power to determine his own position directly (Mead, 1928, p. 172). Another example of fatalism was demonstrated by Allen who questioned villagers in Mangaia (Cook Islands) concerning what occupation they hoped their children might take up. These parents tended to be unable to imagine any occupation at all for their children; their attitude was that "what will be, will be" (Allen, 1969, p. 67).

(ii) Low versus high change orientation or risk orientation - These dimensions refer to the individuals lack of interest, or even fear, of change as expressed in innovations of method, routine, activity, attitude, or of risk-based strategies. Lockwood focusses on an important motivation

in Samoan life to resist social change because virtually all males may expect to be awarded a Matai (chief) title, with its attendant privileges and prestige, at some time during their life, but this will be dependent on the present system remaining unchanged (Lockwood, 1971).
Some writers have observed the lack of creative arts and crafts in Polynesia; Mead noticed that in Samoa very slight changes in pattern (e.g. in dance step, or cloth design) were sufficient innovations, and that major changes were viewed with suspicion (Mead, 1928).

Beaglehole writes of the persistent ability of the Pacific Islanders to resist significant change despite the successive influence of European explorers, traders, missionaries and administrators. "There have been changes on the periphery of life, but the people have remained tenaciously Polynesian, with their own. . .social life and values. . ." (Beaglehole, 1957, p. 237).

(iii) Orientation toward the past versus orientation to the present and future - The traditional person directs his attention back into the past because that is the source of knowledge concerning how he should behave in and interpret the present. Another aspect of time orientation is the link with present behavior and future options. The modern person tends to view the present as an opportunity to redefine the future in more favourable terms to him (e.g. by achieving material success). The traditional person tends to see the future as outside his control anyway and thus the present is to be enjoyed as best one can. Metge says that "Pakehas. . .stand in the present with their backs to the past. . .whilst Maoris move into the future with their eyes on the past" (Metge, 1976, p. 70). Bray (1967) and Havighurst (1973) have shown that Maori adolescents have less future orientation than Pakehas. Lockwood describes Samoans as

having "little evident concern for the future, little interest in productive investment, little willingness to develop" (Lockwood, 1971, 206).

(iv) Mystical versus materialist views of world, high versus low religious affiliation - Traditional people tend to view their world in spiritual terms as being composed of forces which are uncontrollable by men because they exist in a different dimension -- a spirit world. Thus material and physical objects and even behavioural phenomena are seen as being imbued with spiritual forces. The Polynesian concepts of Mana (power) and Tapu (spirit) are examples of the depth of this orientation among Polynesians. Whilst there is not a strong tradition of elaborate religious ritual in Ancient Polynesia, Keesing suggests that the Maori "conceived of himself as a spirit in a world controlled by spirits and spiritual laws" (Keesing, 1928, p. 34). Even in modern times "Maori Sickness" is associated with hova (wrong-doing) and mokutu (sorcery) (Metge, 1976).

Several writers (e.g. Tupouniua, 1977) have pointed out that whilst the European missionary churches have gained almost total following in Polynesia, they have not made a significant impact on traditional life and morality (Beaglehole, 1957, Holmes, 1968). An explanation of this which has been suggested is that the outward form of Christianity (i.e. ritual and ceremonial) has provided a set of activities which are congruent with traditional spiritualism, whilst those Christian values in conflict with traditional values (e.g. concerning sexual behavior) have not been accepted. "Christianity, instead of bursting the bonds of the old life, has been eaten up by it. . .the worship of the Christian deity has added a new form of ceremonialism to the (traditional) culture and has produced a new unifying force for the village" (Keesing, 1928, p. 34). Tupouniua (1977) quotes Rogers (1968) regarding a saying in Tonga that "The King

may ruin a subjects' riches or rank but a faifekau (i.e. church minister) may ruin his chance to dwell in heaven"/ (p. 37). Fear of the minister, the church, hell, excommunication, or even public admonishment from the minister are quite real. Apparently the fakakuotu (quarterly review sessions) consist of a public evaluation of the behavior and Christian performance of each member, and are regarded with dread and fear by the village. In New Zealand, it is evident that the Pacific Island churches are providing a role of preserving cultural traditions amongst the Pacific Island immigrants (Lane, 1977) by maintaining the pattern of social obligation existing in the islands; furthermore, they provide a support system whereby the "culture shock" of urban living is cushioned (e.g. by social centres, English classes, etc.).

Self and Relationships.

This group of social values refer to the ways in which the individual perceives his social environment, his relationships with kin and with strangers, his view of the bases of social status, his evaluation of modes of communication, and his view of legitimate social control.

(i) High versus low kin dependency - This social value refers to the attachment through membership and obligation the individual feels to his kin group (i.e. extended family). In the discussion of kinship above, it has been clearly shown that for both Pacific Islanders and for Maoris there is a strong attachment to the kin group. In the Pacific Islands, it is common for kin of an extended family to live physically very closely together (i.e. same group of houses), but even when migration forces him apart in physical terms, it seems that kin dependence remains, and is even strengthened, as is evidenced by chain migration and remittances (Pitt and McPherson, 1976; Shankman, 1976).

In contrast, the European pattern of social life focusses on the nuclear family and high mobility of siblings (once education is completed). The indigenous Europeans in New Zealand are thus likely to exhibit a pattern of low kin dependence as compared with Polynesians, although the comparatively small population centres, pastoral emphasis, and short history of urbanisation, suggest closer community with kin (Ritchie and Ritchie, 1970).

(ii) Low versus high interpersonal trust - This element refers to motivation and trust not only in forming personal relationships per se, but also in relating actively with persons who have a different cultural background. In the discussion of child-rearing above, the research of Ritchie in the Maori community suggests that Maori child-rearing tends to implant low levels of interpersonal trust resulting in an attitude that it is safest to keep a personal relationship at a shallow level (Ritchie, 1963). Furthermore, the "Mata-fefe (shyness)" (V.T.C. p. 11) behavior of the Pacific Islander is partly attributable to an inadequacy in feeling able to deal with persons perceived as culturally different. This feeling is exacerbated by minority membership in an alien cultural environment perceived as superior in some respects and so differentiated as to be scarcely comprehensible. Thus the whakama (shyness) of Maoris has been well documented throughout the period of European settlement in New Zealand, and the behavior of Pacific Island immigrants in New Zealand may be more marked by insecurity with strangers than in their own majority culture back home.

Some inkling of New Zealand European trust of strangers may be gained by reference to the literature on stereotyping. One study showed that

New Zealand Pakehas see the English as arrogant and serious, the Maoris as easy-going/happy/friendly, and the Pacific Islanders as quick-tempered/happy/easy-going/friendly (Graves and Graves, 1974, p. 8). The Pakehas also saw Australians and Americans as loud, brash/and arrogant. From this slender evidence and the writer's experience of living in New Zealand, it may be suggested that both Maoris and Pacific Islanders lack confidence in dealing with Pakehas and British, and that Pakehas perhaps also on occasion lack confidence in their dealings with British.

(iii) Collective versus self orientation/ conformity versus self-assertion - This factor refers to the degree to which the individual orients himself towards a group (e.g. kin, community, household, etc.) in that his self-identity is bound up with the group. In contrast, the individual may orient his behavior towards himself (i.e. self-oriented). An outcome of this basic orientation is the degree to which the individual asserts himself in social life with a confidence that it is legitimate to act in ones own self-interest, as opposed to a feeling that self-assertion is wrong and that ones appropriate behavior is defined by ones reference group. For the conforming person whose self-identity is bound up with the group, he may be said to fear that his non-conformity will result in rejection by the group and thus perhaps constitute a threat to his own identity.

Humility is admired in those whose mana would justify self-assertion -- but the strongest reproach is to accuse someone of arrogance, of setting himself above others (Metge, 1976). Furthermore, Metge "describes a key Maori social value as being Kotahitanga (unity), Maoris place a high value on unity in social life. . .expecting and bringing strong pressure to bear on individuals to place the good of the group above personal wishes and conveniences" (1976, p. 71). In this context "unity" seems to be synonomous with conformity.

Howard suggests that for Rotuman Islanders (i.e. West Polynesia) the key question is "How do I have to act in order to get along harmoniously with others?", as opposed to a Westerner's preoccupation with internal consistency at the expense of external harmony (Howard, 1970). Beaglehole considers a "generalisation that can be made about all Polynesians: they are never so happy as they are when showing the satisfactions and psychological support that come from own group support" (Beaglehole, 1957, p. 172). This orientation to the group is well evidenced by the high significance which is attached in the Polynesian culture to social events. Metge describes the Maori Hui (social gathering party), the tangi (funeral wake), and komitis (Maori Associations) (Metge, 1976) and demonstrates that it is the continuing attachment to these social events which maintain the Maori culture. Furthermore, the collective orientation of Polynesians toward work is well documented; one aspect of this is an inclination to take up vocational occupations (e.g. teaching, church) which involve working with people (Ritchie, 1968; Metge, 1976; Schwimmer, 1968; Crocombe 1973). Another aspect concerns preference for working with kin, as in the traditional setting, and in small groups in which close relationships may be maintained both with workmates and figures in authority (Metge 1976). A further aspect is that Polynesians are highly motivated to group effort to achieve community goals (Metge, 1976); and Lockwood says that in Samoa, the main motive for increasing agricultural production is not to generate wealth for the aiga (extended family), but is to fulfill needs for community facilities (e.g. school, church) which in turn increases village prestige. However, once the project has been completed, the production levels fall away again (Lockwood, 1971). It is a feature of Pacific Island societies that work is more pleasurable when performed

in a group, especially working with kin or members of the village. Tupouniua (1977) does suggest that the formation of the Tongan kautaha (agricultural voluntary workgroup) not only fulfills this need but also minimises monotony and drudgery in that the group will work in a variety of settings, especially if members are drawn from different villages. As Mead says "social organisation occupies most of the thought and interest of the community; all other activities are at least partly subordinated to it and made to minister to its ends" (Mead, 1928, p. 178).

It is very difficult to directly compare Polynesian and European collective orientation. However, many observations in Britain (e.g. Frankenberg 1966) and New Zealand (e.g. Thorns 1976) have found less evidence in community life of the collective orientation characteristic of Polynesian communities.

(iv) Verbal versus literary skills - One feature of the high orientation in traditional societies of the individual toward his reference group is an emphasis on communication skills, which tend to be primarily verbal skills since he lives in close proximity to his reference group. This is one of the reasons why literacy may not develop over a long period of history in a traditional society; literacy in Pacific Island and Maori societies dates from the contact with European missionaries. By contrast, in modern societies verbal skills are of much less importance than writing skills since the most important aspects of social life require ability to read and to express oneself in writing.

Crocombe (1973) describes the high status of oratorical skills in the Pacific Islands which emphasise creating an emotional response in

the listener; the highly respected orator is one who by use of allegory and poetic expression can cause his audience to be deeply moved. Mead (1928) and all other observers in Samoa have drawn attention to the power of the tulafale (talking chiefs) who attend the alii (chief) within each aiga and village. These talking chiefs do not have formal authority but they have been chosen by the group on the basis of their verbal prowess to represent the chief and the family in important social events. This prowess includes the ability to manipulate the information and facts available (e.g. of genealogy or of correct ceremonial ritual) both in the interests of the power group in the extended kin group, and to gain status for the family/village.

Another important element of the communication system within a culture is the structure and differentiation of language, in particular, the ability of a language to convey abstract meanings. Keesing points out that not only did the Maoris have no written language, but that terms denoting abstractions were rare; meanings were conveyed by "mythopoetic imagery" (Keesing, 1928, p. 24). The subsequent development of the Maori language has been largely to incorporate European words, modify the meaning of existing words, and develop new words in order to be able to communicate more effectively in a modernised social environment (Metge 1976). However, it is also noteworthy that Maori children have consistently under-achieved in European schools; some of the reasons may relate to inadequacy of the Maori language, difficulty of changing orientation to writing skills, and difficulty of communicating in English as a second language (Metge, 1976). In terms of this aspect of culture, the English language is recognised as being one of the most highly differentiated in the world, and the European cultural norms of required

literacy are well expressed in the large priority given to educational facilities and compulsory attendance at primary and secondary schools to attain basic literary skills.

(v) Ascribed versus achieved status - In earlier discussion, it was suggested that Polynesians tended to be more oriented towards ascribed status whilst Europeans were oriented towards achieved status. It was noted that this ascription of status was based on position within a genealogical structure, also on primogeniture, superiority of the male sex, and seniority of age. To this list of ascribed status should be added the status of religious position in that since the enormous growth of Christianity throughout Polynesia the Pastor has been granted high status, although as Holmes (1968) points out, his position has not been formally integrated into traditional status structure. However, another aspect of the effect of Christianity is suggested by Beaglehole who says that the village church provided a means for the commoner to gain achieved status by being appointed to a series of hierarchically graded positions within the church (Beaglehole, 1957).

It has also been suggested that a significant element of respect for achieved status exists within Polynesia, as evidenced, for example, in the election by the family of chiefs and talking chiefs in Samoa on the basis of their personal qualities. However, these qualities of achievement clearly relate to a limited set of culturally bound skills i.e. verbal and oratorical skills, and generosity and service to kin group or community. Those who achieve too much, or achieve in domains unsanctioned by the village (e.g. the low status of technical skills in Tonga, Walsh, 1974), may be either unrecognised or even expelled from the group.

Allen's work, however, has shown the effects on achieved status of social change in the Cook Islands. He suggests that a new "class" of achievers are gaining achieved status; these are "the school teachers, public servants, traders and storekeepers" (Allen, 1969, p. 59). However, he also shows how the trader and commercial farmer in Mangaia were respected covertly for their wealth and abilities but were not integrated within the traditional status hierarchy and in village life. Tupouniua (1977) noted that in a Tonga village a senior government clerk and a commercial farmer were called "men of substance" on the basis of their wealth.

Furthermore, Metge notes "a general tendency to place less emphasis than formerly on Mana obtained by descent and more on Mana obtained by personal achievement"; Mana thus depends on having both traditional as well as modern achievements (Metge, 1976, p. 64).
However studies of social status in Britain (Butterworth 1970) and New Zealand (Collette 1973) have shown the higher social value attached to the individual achievement of wealth, professional status, and educational achievement.

(vi) Surveillance and privacy - In the traditional society characterised by privacy of small-group relationships and conforming behavior, the appropriate facilitating system for social control is surveillance. This may be expressed as being that "everybody (including authority figures) knows what everybody else is doing" by virtue of close physical living, and intense interest and observation of each others behavior. In Samoa, "with the exception of the Matai (chief), no individual has any privacy or control of personal property. Ten to twelve persons eat and sleep in a one-room house. . . .Every word, every act, is the property of an interested, inquisitive public" (Mead, 1928, p. 172). It should be pointed

out that throughout the Pacific Islands, family life was traditionally oriented to the outside of the house (which itself may not have walls!), and that the houses in a village would be situated fairly closely together and unseparated by fences. The traditional Polynesian implication drawn by an individual seeking privacy, is that he has something important to hide, to which the group is obliged to seek discovery by whatever means are available.

Shore (1977) found that in the Samoan village, the coming of night-time signifies the possibility of an individual carrying out behavior in privacy which would be severely disapproved of in the daylight when somebody would be certain to see it (e.g. eating whilst walking, sexual courting, etc.). However, as long as nobody saw what the individual was doing, then there was nothing wrong. Apart from visual surveillance, traditional Polynesian life is marked by gossip, especially of the women as they perform their daily group domestic tasks.

It is interesting to note that Maori mothers in rural small towns in New Zealand apparently experience great anxiety in orienting their family's behavior towards what they feel are the social norms of the European family (Ritchie and Ritchie, 1970). In this case, there is a demonstration not only of the traditional Maori need to conform and fear of surveillance, but perhaps also the semi-traditional nature of small rural community life in New Zealand.

Studies in Britain tend to suggest a preference for individual privacy in community living (Frankenberg 1966). European living styles in New Zealand have traditionally been based on an individual family quarter-acre section which is well hidden from neighbours by high fencing or the planting of trees. However, the most striking difference

between European and Polynesian attitudes is probably that, whilst to Europeans privacy is an important and enduring issue of concern, to Polynesians it is not valued highly.

Summary of Social Values

Traditional			Modern
4	3	2	1

Self and World

Fatalism	Personal Efficacy
Low risk orientation	High risk orientation
Low orientation to change	High orientation to change
Past oriented	Future oriented
Mystical view of world	Materialist view

Self and Social Relations

High kin dependence	Low kin dependence
Low interpersonal trust	High interpersonal trust
Collective orientation	Self orientation
Ascribed status	Achieved status
Verbal skills	Written skills
Surveillance	Privacy
Conformity	Self-assertion

In summary, the discussion of values of social traditionalism has revealed that a marked difference can be identified between the cultural groups. This difference is most clearly expressed as that Polynesians (groups 4 and 3) have a higher orientation towards social traditionalism than do Europeans (groups 1 and 2) who may be characterised as modern. Distinctions within these two sub-sets are perhaps more dependent on specific reference to economic systems and socio-economic variables.

Summary of Cultural Group Differences

Discussion of characteristics of the four cultural groups along a variety of dimensions of traditionalism/modernity has revealed that:

(a) Europeans and Polynesians are clearly differentiated along almost all the dimensions discussed. In summary, Europeans are oriented towards modernity while Polynesians are oriented towards social traditionalism. Europeans are socialised to accept values which are congruent with individual and alienated life within a large, industrialised society, whilst Polynesians are socialised for small-group living in a subsistence agriculture in which collective orientation and conformity are congruent with societal needs.

(b) Maoris and Pacific Islanders are differentiated in that Maori culture has been more subject to influence by European culture even though both Polynesian groups have had a similar period of contact with Europeans. Maoris were conquered in war by Europeans in New Zealand and until 1920 they suffered population decline as well as decline in the structure and process of their culture. Maoris have been and remain a minority, disadvantaged group in a majority European culture. The Pacific Island nations however may be said to share a number of characteristics which have had the effect of reducing cultural change, resulting from contact with Europeans, to a minimum. These factors include:

i) very low proportion of European to native population.
ii) lack of conquest by Europeans in war.
iii) little exploitable land and few natural resources.
iv) rarely existent racial prejudice.
v) uniformity in cultural make-up.

The Pacific Island nations are independent states without a significant history of colonial influence.

(c) Non-indigenous Europeans (British) are differentiated from indigenous Europeans (Pakeha) in that Britain is a highly-developed industrial state with a large population and a history of industrialisation and advanced urbanisation of at least 200 years. New Zealand is essentially an agricultural or pastoral country with a small population, a comparatively undeveloped industrial sector, and a pattern of living based on small-town rather than city communities. Despite the fact that most Pakehas originate from British immigrants the significant differences in cultural orientation are evidenced by the negative (superior) stereotypes that Pakehas hold concerning the British.

PART II IMPLICATIONS AND HYPOTHESES ARISING FROM CULTURAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN SUPERVISORY GROUPS

SOCIAL VALUES AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

Social Values

The detailed discussion above of differences in attachment to particular social values of the four cultural groups suggests that they will differ in their attachment to social traditionalism. These differences will reflect the degree of modernity or traditionalism characteristic of each of the cultures.

Hypothesis

Differences will be found between the cultural groups in their attachment to values characteristic of social traditionalism. These differences will be in the order of group 4, 3, 2, 1, where group 4 will have highest and group 1 lowest attachment to social traditionalism.

Socio-Economic Status

It has been suggested above that the four cultural groups also differ in levels of socio-economic status within the following dimensions:

1. Educational level.
2. Experience in industry.
3. Size of family during own upbringing.
4. Fathers' occupation.

It has been suggested above that Pacific Islanders are less likely to have received secondary or tertiary education than other groups because on some of the islands there are few such facilities. Furthermore, Metge

(1976) has pointed out the low proportion of Maoris who attain educational levels beyond statutory attendance at secondary schools in New Zealand as compared with higher attainment of Europeans. The literature thus distinguishes between Pacific Islanders, Maoris, and Europeans, although there is no indication to suggest significant differences between British and New Zealand Europeans (i.e. groups 1 and 2) in educational level.

Due to the virtual absence of industrial activity in the Pacific Islands and the tendency of Pacific Islanders to migrate to New Zealand as adults, it is highly likely that they will have spent less years working in factories than any of the other cultural groups. As Metge (1976) points out, the Maori migration from rural areas (with very little industry) to urban city areas (industrial concentration) has occurred rapidly but is a relatively recent phenomenon. However, it is difficult to differentiate Maoris from Pakehas (i.e. group 2) in this respect because both groups have experienced migration to the cities and both groups have a similarly low level of employment in the agricultural sector (1971 Census). However, the greater development of industry in Britain, and the lower level of agricultural employment there, suggests that British immigrants may have higher years of exposure to industry than all of the other groups.

Another factor which relates to industrial exposure and modernity in general concerns the occupation of the subject's father. Father's occupation is a factor in determining a son's aspiration to, and expectations of, his own occupational status due to the particular role model which the father provides during child-rearing. It is to be expected that Pacific Islanders' fathers were primarily subsistence farmers and that they will be clearly differentiated on this dimension from other groups. However, the Maori people were also traditionally farmers as were Pakehas

prior to urban migration and it is expected that both Maoris and Pakehas will be differentiated from British emigrants in that their fathers' occupation will be lower in status (i.e. agricultural).

The size of family has been noted to relate to traditionalism in that traditional peoples typically have larger families (Hagen 1962); firstly, each set of parents may have more offspring, and secondly, the close social ties attached to the extended family tend to generate a pattern of relatives living with each other in large households. Both these patterns have been observed in the Pacific Islands (Beaglehole, 1957;Crocombe, 1973), and it is suggested that family size will be higher amongst Pacific Islanders than all other groups. As Metge (1976) has pointed out, the traditional pattern of Maori life similarly is suggestive of large family size although the migration to cities may reduce both number of offspring, and number of relatives in the household (Ritchie and Ritchie, 1970). The nuclear family living of Europeans, however, emphasises a smaller number of offspring and does not support relatives living in the household. It is suggested, therefore, that Polynesian groups will have experienced higher numbers of people living in their household during their own upbringing than will European groups.

Hypothesis

Differences will be found between the cultural groups in their levels of socio-economic status in the order of group 4, 3, 2, 1 where group 4 will have low socio-economic status (as measured by low education, low industrial experience, large family size, and low father's occupation) and group 1 will have high socio-economic status (as measured by high education, high industrial experience, small family size, and high father's occupation):-

a) educational level

b) experience in industry

c) size of family

d) fathers' occupation

PERSONALITY

Cognitive Style

1. Introduction and Definition

The comparative study of personality in different cultural settings and between persons of different cultural backgrounds is subject to considerable criticism (Gladwin, 1961). This is because of the suspected ethnocentrism of many of the conceptual frameworks and instruments developed for use and validated in Western (particularly North American) settings. Much of the early psychological research in Anthropology was carried out in different cultural settings (in particular in South Pacific settings) using a Freudian model of personality and its antecedents (e.g. Malinowski, 1927). However, Mead's work in the Pacific Islands was based on a view that "personality is part of the cultural heritage to be passed on from one generation to the next. . . .Because it is learned, and because it is learned through living the culture, it necessarily develops, with variations, in essentially similar form from one person to the next" (Gladwin, 1961, p. 160).

Bateson proposed a model of cognitive processes which saw "Ethos" as the expression of a culturally standardised system of the organisation of the instincts and emotions of individuals. "Eidos" was viewed as a standardisation (and expression in cultural behavior) of "the cognitive aspects of the personality of individuals (e.g. memory, perception, and structuring of external reality. . .(and) preferred strategies in problem-solving)" (Gladwin, 1961, p. 164).

Witkin et al (1962) carried out a series of studies which focussed on the link between child-rearing and the development of psychological differentiation in the child. Their systems model views psychological differentiation as a development process of specialisation in the organism in

which "sub-systems emerge within the general system which are capable of mediating specific function" (Witkin and Berry, 1975, p. 5). These specific functions include emotive and cognitive dimensions which develop in the course of interaction of the organism with its environment. However, in order for the system to function effectively, there must be an integration of the sub-systems; this integration is more complex when the differentiation of sub-systems is more elaborate. The integrative requirement indicates that the development in the sub-systems (e.g. perception, feelings, intellect, etc.) should be self-consistent i.e. a pattern of congruence is required between them otherwise the organism may be acting in opposite ways at the same time and consequently will become dysfunctional.

"Greater differentiation also carries implications about relations with the environment; a more differentiated system is characterised by separation of what is identified as belonging to the self from what is identified as external for the self" (Witkin and Berry, 1975, p. 5). Witkin and his associates (1975) have demonstrated that self-consistency exists between:

- visual perception; also aural and tactile perception.
- intellectual perception.
- body concept (inner versus outer frames of reference).
- sense of separate identity (i.e. inner versus outer frames of reference).
- social versus impersonal orientation (degree of sensitivity to others).
- defensive structures for regulation of impulse (massive repression versus intellectualised repression).

These research studies have thus demonstrated that measurement of differentiation in one of the above sub-systems is correlated with measurement of differentiation in any other of the other sub-systems. Thus the

measurement of psychological differentiation has become an important development in cross-cultural personality study for three reasons:

a) Universality - the conceptual framework of psychological differentiation suggests that differentiation is a process which is universal to all organisms (i.e. including human beings) which transcends differences in environment (i.e. cultural differences) and individual differences.

b) Content-free - psychological differentiation is content-free in that it focusses on the structural properties of a cognitive system. The use of differentiation instruments to measure personality thus avoids the problems of ethnocentrism in cross-cultural psychological research since the measurement of cultural differences will be indicative of structural differences developed by the individual as an adaptive response to his environment.

c) Socialisation - the study of psychological differentiation facilitates the cross-cultural study of socialisation since the primary means by which the individual's cognitive system is constructed will be through the various mediating processes of socialisation (especially child-rearing). Thus socialisation practices in general should be more clearly understood as the antecedent socialisation of varying levels of psychological differentiation is identified. Since the varying needs imposed by the environment are related to psychological differentiation, it will be the socialisation practices which are directed at constructing the cognitive structure that is congruent with those needs and which will thus equip the individual to survive and cope in that environment.

d) Measurement - since cognitive structures are self-consistent, and the range of differentiation can be simply construed as being a continuum from high to low, it becomes relatively easy to compare measures across cultural

groups, since even if different measures are used (e.g. visual perception v. social orientation) they should be measuring the same phenomenon.

Witkin and others have developed the field independence-field dependence dimension as a measure of psychological differentiation; field independence signifies a high degree of differentiation, whilst field dependence signifies a low degree of differentiation. Whilst a large variety of instruments have been validated to measure cognitive style (Witkin and Berry, 1975), two instruments in particular have been used in many of the studies in cross-cultural settings. The Embedded Figures Test (EFT) is an exercise in visual perception in which the subject is required to disembed a simple figure composed of straight lines from a complex pattern. This type of instrument is often administered to individuals in a group (GEFT) and the individual's score is computed from the number of correct disembedded figures he can identify from a variety of complex patterns.

The Portable Rod and Frame Test (PRFT, Oltman, 1968) consists usually of a white perspex box-like enclosure which serves as a frame within which is a black rod framed by the black square outline of the end of the box. The subject can only see within the box, and he is required to disembed the rod from its field. The experimenter is able to manipulate both the rod and frame by 28° left or right and the subject is required to have the rod moved so that it is vertical regardless of the slanted position of the frame. A score of field dependence is computed from the average number of degrees which the rod deviates from the vertical over a series of trials.

Both instruments thus require "analytical disembedding, including active scanning, systematic search, and vigilance in solving the task" (Gruenfeld and McEachron, 1975).

Field-independent, cognitive structures imply capacity to deal with part of a field separately, the imposing of structure or unstructured fields

or the restructuring of previously structured fields. Field dependent (or "Global", Gruenfeld and McEachron, 1975) imply dealing with the field as a whole, and accepting the structure of the field.

It has been noted (Faterson and Witkin, 1970; Witkin, Goodenough and Karp, 1967) that field independence develops up to the period of early adolescence when a levelling-off occurs: and within this developmental sequence a high degree of relative stability has been found from one age period to another, even over a fourteen-year period, from age ten to age 24. Apparently the level of field independence remains highly stable until about the age of 50 (this may be earlier in traditional societies due mainly to earlier physiological and mental decline) when it reduces (Witkin and Berry, 1975).

2. Outcomes of Field Independence/Dependence

These outcomes may be summarised in terms of generalised orientations in the following way:

Field Independents - intellectually analytical and systematic, perceptually discriminating, emotionally self-controlled, socially independent and self-reliant, and motivationally focussed.

Field Dependents - intellectually intuitive, perceptually holistic, emotionally expressive, socially dependent and other-directed, and motivationally diffuse. (Gruenfeld and McEachron, 1975).

Beaglehole and Ritchie (1958) described the patterns of personality and behavior typical in the Rakau Maori village as being "Non-achievement in Maori social situations; recourse to practical rather than abstract tasks; a belief in the ultimate validity of self-evaluation and counter-rejection which expresses itself chiefly through attacking achievers by gossip or by interpreting their actions as egocentric rather than altroustic. Strong

affection needs persist giving warmth and vitality to spontaneous social life, but non-involvement limits such spontaneity. Thus, much of the social activity of Rakau is minimally related to the ends and goals of society but maximumly related to keeping up an idealised pattern of social relations. No one is really much concerned with how much a man gets done, but everyone is tremendously concerned with how he behaves in relation to others.

The idealised patterns of social relations (e.g. people should work together, old men know best, kinfolk should exhibit unquestioned solidarity) work out well enough in emergencies (e.g. hui, tangi, etc.). But they are undermined in ordinary social intercourse by the anxiety, aggression, vague hostility and defence needs which form the major preoccupation of Rakau personality". (p. 250).

Beaglehole's (1957) psychological study in the Cook Islands pointed out that the technological aspects of the culture were very simple and that results (i.e. subsistence agricultural production) were typically achievable by the simple application of traditional rules without the requirement of complicated judgements, both by the fisherman and the farmer. He suggested that cognitive structure would consequently be simple in structure and largely formed by experience derived through the rote learning of repeated lessons.

Beaglehole's (1957) study of personality in the Cook Islands involved the administration of Rorschach procedures to female and male children of different ages. He summarised the character structure of the Cook Islanders' children as follows:

- low intellectual level
- emotionally constricted; not broad and expansive in their approach to the world, but flat and withdrawing. Emotional states, when they do occur, are violent and uncontrolled.

- lack of imagination and fantasy.
- anxiety and basic insecurity, leading to failure to control emotional-impulse responses.
- high degree of formalisation about life; culture provides all the major answers in life, the individual need only concern himself with minor decisions.
- low individuality, no social approval for innovation.
- personality structure fixed and rigid rather than plastic and modifiable. (Beaglehole, 1958, p. 232-233)

Cook (1942) also collected Rorschach data from Samoan young adult males. These results broadly confirm Beaglehole's findings and are indicative of a similarity of Pacific Island personality across Pacific Island national boundaries.

Allen (1974) found that Cook Island subsistence farmers were unable to describe the actual problems involved in growing their crops. From the responses to these and other questions he argued that the farmers were demonstrating very little cognitive reorientation in terms of reorganisation of knowledge, thoughts and perceptions, in spite of living in a changing socio-economic environment. All these examples in the Pacific Islands and amongst New Zealand Maori are highly indicative of field dependent cognitive style as opposed to field independent cognitive style.

3. Antecedents of Field Independence/Dependence

The antecedent factors identified in the literature may be summarised under the following headings:

a) Ecology and Economic System

b) Socialisation

c) Social Pressure

(a) Ecology and Economic System - In comparing traditional/primitive societies the relationship between man and the natural environment in terms of man's basic needs to survive (i.e. physiologically) has become a focus of study. In particular, Berry and Dasen have shown in their studies of Eskimos and Temme (West Africans) that greater field independence exists amongst migratory-hunting societies (i.e. Eskimos) than amongst sedentary, agricultural societies (Berry, 1966). "The ecological demands placed on persons pursuing a hunting and gathering subsistence economic life style require the ability to extract key information from the surrounding context for the location of game and the ability to integrate these bits of information into a continuously fluctuating awareness of the hunter's location in space for the eventual safe return home" (Witkin and Berry, 1975 p. By contrast, the subsistence agriculture life style does not require the individual to disembed and restructure his perceptual field because his physical area of economic activity is typically within a comparatively small area, is unchanging, and is not remote from his living space.

Thus we can characterise the Pacific Islanders, and to a lesser extent the Maoris, with their sedentary subsistence agriculture economy, as likely to tend towards field dependence.

A further aspect of ecology concerns the differentiation of landscape: in arctic or desert conditions, the landscape is undifferentiated and the individual must disembed critical features in order to survive. In the Pacific Islands, the landscape is small (in size) and is highly differentiated (forest bush, reef, etc.) although it should be pointed out that some Pacific Islanders have traditionally displayed high disembedding perceptual skills in navigating across long distances of the Pacific Ocean without modern navigational aids (i.e. compass, sextant, etc.), and without sight of land.

These skills include interpreting distance and direction by wave pattern and vibration, cloud formation, seabird flight, position of stars etc.

In analysing the effect of economic environment, it is recognised that a modern industrial and urbanised environment requires the individual to exercise perceptual and cognitive skills associated with field independence as opposed to field dependence (Gruenfeld and McEachron, 1975). Triandis (1960) has suggested that orientations and abilities such as scientific analysis, control and exploitation of the physical world, the pursuit of individualistic and materialistic goals are functional requirements of industrialised cultures and that these orientations are found in field independents. By contrast, in agricultural societies, the functional orientations are smooth and conforming social relations emphasising empathetic skills and intuitive analysis, a symbiotic view of the physical world, and the pursuit of group goals (of which the primary goal is to avoid change except where major environmental change forces change in order to survive).

There has been a series of studies showing that occupational interest choices are related to field independence (Abuthnot and Gruenfeld, 1969; Barrett and Bass, 1972; Holtzman, Swartz and Thorpe, 1971; Levy, 1969; Witkin, 1973; Zytowski, Mill and Paepe, 1969).

It seems that those people choosing occupations requiring analytical cognitive skills are more field independent whilst people choosing more vocational, or people-oriented, occupations requiring empathetic skills are more field dependent.

Gruenfeld (1970) has carried out several studies in which a positive relationship was demonstrated between "task-oriented" supervisors and field independence, and between "people-oriented" supervisors and field dependence.

Metge has pointed out the orientation of Maoris towards vocational occupations such as teaching and the various churches (Metge 1976). Furthermore, Walsh (1974) does say that technical skills command low status in Tonga, and Crocombe suggests that Pacific Islanders generally are attracted to jobs handling people, especially teaching, service and politi-political roles (Crocombe 1973). Thus those Pacific Islanders and Maoris who achieve a high standard of education are likely to be attracted into "people-oriented" occupations for which a field-dependent cognitive is functional. The overwhelming majority of the Pacific Island population, however, remain as farmers (even in Nukualoafa, the large capital of Tonga, one-half of the population are farmers (Walsh, 1974, p. 27)), whilst the majority of the Maori population become unskilled or semi-skilled workers mainly in industrial settings, performing job functions which require a minimum of analytical skills (Metge, 1976).

A study of occupational prestige among New Zealanders (Congalton and Havighurst, 1954) showed that prestige rankings were positively related to the educational requirements and income of the ranked occupations. The highest ratings were given to "doctors, solicitors, owners of large businesses, and directors of large enterprises" (Collette, 1973, p. 39). The functional requirements of these professions are more congruent with the skills of a field independent than to that of a field dependent.

The proportion of New Zealanders employed in the agricultural and forestry sector is 11.59% (1971 Census), which is considerably higher than the proportion in Britain, and slightly lower than the proportion of New Zealand Maoris (13.27%). Pacific Islanders in New Zealand are overwhelmingly employed (72.13%, 1971 Census) in the semi-skilled and unskilled sector of industry.

Thus, within the realm of occupation, two different emphases can be

can be identified, both which may be considered predictive of cognitive style in cross-cultural studies; one emphasis concerns the proportion of the population and also of a particular group employed in the agricultural sector. The second emphasis concerns the comparitive proportions of any given group employed in unskilled (semi-skilled occupations). In summary, the economic system in New Zealand is pastoral in comparison with Britain, whilst the economic system in the Pacific Islands is subsistence agriculture economy in comparison with New Zealand's commercial agricultural economy.

Gruenfeld and McEachron (1975) studied the relationship between cognitive style and a variety of socio-economic-status (SES) variables for managers and technicians from 22 countries. They found positive correlations between field independence and national indexes of economic development, cultural development, health care services, educational achievement, nutrition and mortality. Nedd and Schwartz (1977) found interaction effects between SES and child-rearing which varied between different groups.

Economic development certainly sharply differentiates the Pacific Islands and New Zealand. Furthermore, it should also be noted that in Tonga and Samoa, two of the largest Pacific Island nations, there is little secondary education although primary education systems are developed (Walsh, 1974; Lockwood, 1971). In New Zealand, Maori pupils consistently underachieve in educational attainment compared with Pakeha children (Chapman, 1973, Ausubel 1965; Harker 1971);this is both in primary and secondary schooling, and in university entrance (Metge, 1976). Health care services are less developed in the Pacific Islands, and nutrition is marked by a lack of animal protein compared with nutrition in New Zealand (Gladwin, 1961). This is due to the difficulty of farming cattle, pigs, and sheep in the tropical Pacific Islands.

Mortality rates are higher amongst Maoris than Pakehas in New Zealand (Metge, 1976) even though the difference has been declining in recent years.

Du Preez (1968) found a significant difference in field independence amongst native people in South Africa between those who had travelled as opposed to those who had not. In the case of Pacific Islanders in New Zealand (group 4), they have, of course, emigrated from their country of origin but some evidence (McDonald 1973) exists to indicate that most emigrate as adults rather than at an earlier age when the environmental change might have increased their field independence.

(b) Socialisation - As indicated above, Witkin et al (1962) considered that the process by which cognitive style was developed in the child was through child-rearing. Vernon (1969, p. 58) summarises the child-rearing practices that develop field independence as: "The major underlying influence is the extent to which the mother encourages the child to develop an identity of his own, and to master the world, or how far she thinks more of her own convenience and of conformity to social norms. This, in turn, depends on her own confidence and stability, or on whether she communicates fear and distrust of the world. Discipline in the independent home is permissive rather than authoritarian, it sets definite, consistent standards, and is neither over-protective and indulgent nor coercive and arbitrary."

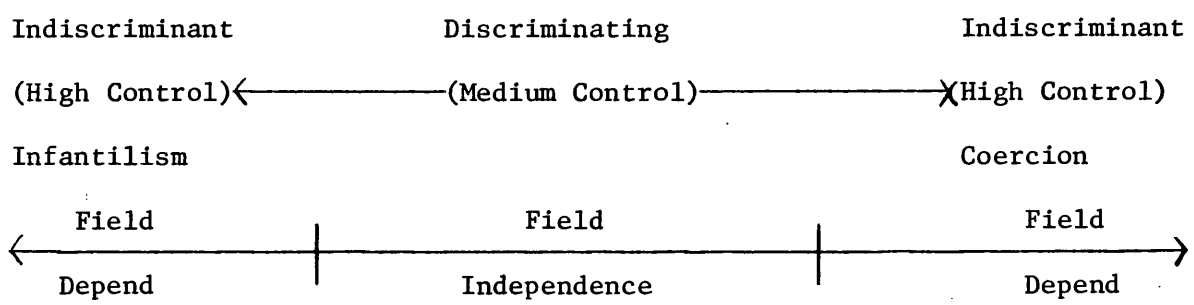
Research on child-rearing has been carried out in a variety of cultural settings (Berry, 1966; Dawson 1967; Deshowitz, 1971) in Europe, Africa and Asia in which the harsh child-rearing practices, which have been found to be more associated with traditional cultures than with modern cultures, were positively related to field dependence in children. However significant differences also exist within traditional cultures. Barry and his associates have

able to show that amongst traditional peoples "low food-accumulating" societies (mainly hunting and gathering) emphasize assertion (measured by scales of achievement and self-reliance) while "high-food accumulating" societies emphasize compliance (measured by scales of obedience and responsibility) (Barry, Child and Bacon, 1959).

Berry's (1966) study of Temme and Eskimo groups measured parents' assessment of the child-rearing practices of their parents and found positive relationships between "strictness" and field dependence. Dawson (1974) asked Chinese boys to describe their parents' child-rearing methods and demonstrated a positive relationship between "mother/father dominance" and field dependence. The original work of Witkin et al (1962) used measures of mothers' behavior, interview data from mothers, and TAT measures of childrens' attitudes which demonstrated the internal consistency within the family of perception of child-rearing practices.

Seder (1957) showed that field-dependent subjects came from maternally dominated homes with a passive father providing an "inadequate role model for assertive, aggressive behavior" (Seder in Witkin et al, 1962, p. 354). As indicated in the discussion on child-rearing above, the pattern of maternal dominance/and distant patriarchical fatherhood (delegated through older siblings) is a feature of Maori and Pacific Island child-rearing (Ritchie, 1964). Seder (1957) found a significant relationship between personal anxiety and insecurity about their child-rearing practices of mothers and field dependence of their male children. The study of child-rearing in New Zealand (Ritchie and Ritchie, 1970) showed that Neuroticism was positively related to harshness of child-rearing, and that Maori mothers, in particular those in small rural towns, had higher neuroticism scores and insecurity about their child-rearing practices than did Pakeha mothers.

Seder (1957) also found that field dependent children had been subjected to "coercive or infantilizing" child-rearing procedures, with great stress upon conformity and authority" (Witkin et al, 1962, p. 351). "Coercive" is perceived here as being strict without regard for the child's expressed needs, but rather to fulfill the mother's needs (for convenience to fulfill some structured rules concerning child-rearing). Infantilising is perceived as being permissive without regard for the child's needs or responses, fulfilling the mother's needs (e.g. of proof she is a good mother, of depending for affection, etc.). Both these approaches are seen as providing parental responses to the child which are not discriminated according to the child's expressed needs. Thus the child is not learning to differentiate his world and to act towards mastery and control of his world. A model of the relationship between cognitive style and infantilism/coercion is as follows:



It is the discriminating parent control style in which the parent responds consistently according to the apparent needs of the child, within a framework of belief that it is appropriate for the child to be learning to assert himself, which is positively related to field independence.

This infantilism is identical with the "early toleration" stage of maternal behavior in Pacific Island and Maori cultures (Beaglehole and Ritchie p. 501). Furthermore, the "rejection stage" which occurs at the age of

18 months - 2 years amongst Maori and Pacific Island mothers (Beaglehole and Ritchie, p. 501), is related to the "coercion" discussed above; thus in effect, the Polynesian child, experiencing the "early toleration and later control" which is so characteristic of traditional society child-rearing (Hagan, 1962), is experiencing inconsistency of parental response both within the stages of infantilism and coercion, and during the traumatic period in which one style is abruptly exchanged for the other.

There is little data concerning Pakeha child-rearing patterns beside the Ritchie and Ritchie study referred to above (Part I) which showed that Pakeha parents were more permissive than Maori although this difference diminished in city settings. However, it should be noted that it was a New Zealander, Sir Truby King, who developed a "Coercive" theory of child-rearing (i.e. based on strict schedules of feeding, punishment responses, etc.) which was so influential in New Zealand that a nation-wide society of Child Health Nurses (the Plunket Society) was founded to practice and teach mothers these methods. This Society still performs most of the child health "visiting and educational function" throughout New Zealand.

(c) Social Pressure - The cross-cultural research dealing with cognitive style is strongly suggestive of a positive relationship between conformity and compliance to authority both in society and in the family (Witkin and Berry 1975) and field dependence of individuals within those groups. It is not surprising that societies should exhibit internal self consistency just as in other organisms, and consequently there is an association between harsh socialisation practices and tight social organisation. This "social tightness" may be measured by such factors as degree of hierarchical structure and social stratification, number of differentiated but fixed roles, elaborateness of the structural organisation, which all indicate the

extent to which the individual is subject to control by the social group. The term "social conformity" has been used (Witkin, Price-Williams, et al, 1974) to express this dynamic of social control which applies consistently in "tight" societies to all forms of social group; family, village, tribe, religion, political grouping, nation, etc. This consistency is explained by the fact that freedom from conformity for the traditional person in one sphere of his social life may reduce his attachment to compliance to the authority in all other spheres. His belief system, developed by socialisation practices, suggests to him that to cope with the unknown and threatening world he needs the protection and security of his social groupings, and that the price of this protection is his conformity to their authority.

McNett (1970) has shown that agricultural and pastoral societies tend to be "tight", a contrast to hunting and gathering societies which are "loose" i.e. they have minimal role differences and a less elaborate structure (Pelto, 1968). These differences were confirmed in the Berry studies of Temme and Eskimo referred to above (Berry 1966). A variety of studies in different settings have confirmed the close association between child-rearing, tightness of society, and cognitive style (Dershowitz, 1971; Amir, 1972; Dasen 1974 etc.). However, one study is of particular importance to this discussion; Witkin, Price-Williams et al (1974) compared the cognitive style of children from pairs of villages in Holland, Italy, and Mexico with the degree of social conformity in the family and in the society. In each country, villages were chosen to represent a "more conforming" (M.C.), and a "less conforming" (L.C.) pole. A summary of the characteristics of the M.C. villages is as follows:

- extended family structure, authoritative role exercised by grandparents.
- father is to be respected by his children but has little to do with raising them.
- mother plays a more dominating role with children and physical punishment is more commonly used.
- strong obedience to parent authority; discouragement of child's self-assertion.
- strongly pronounced sexual taboos for adolescents.
- authority figures in social, religious, and political domains very influential, pronounced conformity to them and discouragement of any questioning of their prescriptions (Witkin, Price-Williams et al, 1974).

The L.C. villages differed on all these dimensions from the M.C. villages. The cognitive style results were that boys and girls of all ages in all countries had significantly higher field independence scores on a variety of measures when they came from less conforming villages, and lower scores when they came from more conforming villages.

It is perhaps not necessary to reiterate the discussion in Part I above concerning social organisation in which it was clearly demonstrated that Pacific Island and Maori culture (especially Maori rural and small-town settings) emphasise all of the characteristics of Witkin's more conforming villages except perhaps in the area of sexual taboos (Mead, 1961, Chapter 7). In Polynesian societies, pre-marital and adulterous sexual contacts are not approved, but any outcomes (i.e. children, divorce, etc) are treated with sympathy and acceptance (Metge, 1976). The use of shame sanctions (Howard, p. 219) and the child-rearing practices required to bring about their power, so characteristic of conforming traditional societies, has been shown to be the prime feature of social control in Polynesian society (Pitt

and McPherson, 1976). This may be contrasted with the "guilt" sanctions of the more modern society of the European samples in which punishment is essentially conducted by the individual upon himself as he evaluates his own behavior and attitudes against his socialised view of what is right and proper. In the shame society, the individual feels that what he thinks and has done is wrong if, and only if, his social group says it is wrong. But in saying it is wrong, they threaten his self-identity by the shame and ridicule sanctions used to punish him and thus his fear of others may be a pervading feature underlying all his behavior.

Furthermore, when the social structure and stratification in the Pacific Islands is studied it becomes clear that social status is primarily dependent on ascribed status. In Tonga, a constitutional monarchy rules in which 33 noble families with legally recognised hereditary status and a powerful role in the political structure essentially exert authority with the king over the "commoner" classes (Marcus, 1975, p. 42). Whilst achieved status based on wealth, education, and administrative position is becoming significant within the Pacific Islands (Allen, 1969), the society still remains essentially "tight"; indeed, to some extent, the educational and economic opportunities may favor those members of the "ruling class" who have grasped opportunities for achievement whilst retaining their ascribed status (e.g. the present King of Tonga was the first Tongan university graduate).

In New Zealand, society is by contrast essentially based on achieved status in which wealth and profession are viewed most favorably (Collette, 1973). Indeed, Britain may be characterised as being more structured and stratified then New Zealand in that a hereditary aristocracy still remains in the former, whilst not being present in the latter.

Summary and Hypotheses

The comparative analysis of elements, which according to the extensive field research in many cultures seem to be predictive of levels of cognitive style, has shown a congruence between ecology and economic system, socialisation practices, and social organisation. Specifically, it appears that pastoral economic systems, harsh socialisation, and tight social organisation are internally consistent features of societies marked by field dependent cognitive style. In contrast, hunting and gathering economic systems in unexploited ecologies, and industrialised economic systems in exploited ecologies, permissive socialisation and loose social organisation are internally consistent features of societies marked by field independent cognitive style. However, the modernity of industrialised economic systems may be distinguished from the traditionalism of the hunting societies by differential levels of socio-economic factors such as income, education, housing quality, health systems, etc. which cause the modern societies to be higher in field independence than the traditional hunting societies (Witkin and Berry, 1975).

The comparative analysis of the four cultural groups has revealed that they are differentiated according to the antecedents of field independence, field dependence. Specifically, the European (groups 1 and 2) and Polynesian (groups 3 and 4) groups may be expected to differ in cognitive style with higher European field independence but lower Polynesian field independence. The pastoral nature of the New Zealand society also may be expected to differentiate it from the British society and thus the British immigrants (group 1) are predicted to have higher field independence than the Pakehas (group 2). Also, the effects of urbanisation and industrialisation and long history of intense contact with Europeans in New Zealand

compared with lack of urbanisation and exposure to industry and history of minimal effect from European contact, were predicted to result in a higher field independence in Indigenous Polynesians (group 3) as compared with Pacific Island immigrants (group 4).

The literature indicates that Indigenous Polynesians (group 3) and Indigenous Europeans (group 2) differ in terms of cultural variables such as social values, socialisation and social organisation and in levels of socio-economic status. This difference is suggestive of higher field independence amongst the former group than amongst the latter. However, the long history of living together in the same environment, and recent history of similarity in exposure to urbanism and industrialisation are suggestive of this difference being less marked than in the other cases. This analysis is supported by Chapman's (1974) findings that Pakehas and Maori boys were not significantly different on field independence even though Maoris did have lower scores than Pakehas. However, the comparison between the other two combinations of cultural groups, group 1 and 4, group 2 and 4 are predicted to be significant in field independence scores.

Hypothesis

Differences will be found between the cultural groups in their levels of field independence. These differences will be in the order of groups 1, 2, 3, 4 where group 1 will be highest and group 4 lowest in field independence.

Tolerance of Ambiguity

1. Definition of the Construct

The study of tolerance of ambiguity arises from attempts to identify motivational and cognitive correlates of attitudes pertaining to ethnic prejudice(Adorno et al, 1951; Frenkel-Brunswick, 1948; Martin and Westie, 1959). The construct of intolerance of ambiguity has been defined as "a

tendency to resort to black-white solutions, to arrive at premature closure as to valuative aspects, often at the neglect of reality, and to seek for unqualified and unambiguous overall acceptance and rejection of other people" (Frenkel-Brunswick p, 115). Budner stresses in his definition the underlying reason for this rigid structuring of reality in defining intolerance of ambiguity as "the tendency to perceive (i.e. interpret) ambiguous situations as sources of threat", as opposed to perceiving them as desirable (Budner, 1962 p. 29).

2. A Model of Intolerance

The intolerant person has typically experienced a child-rearing pattern of either infantilism or coercion, that is of a series of parental responses which were perceived by the child as not being discriminated according to his needs. In order to cope with this experience, the child has developed a dichotomous attitudinal structure consisting of a "superstructure" of static certainty which is maintained at the conscious level, and an "understructure" of repressed emotional conflicts, at the subconscious and unconscious level. This system tends to reflect a lack of clear self-identity arising from parental behavior, and the need to repress negative feelings towards the parent. The individual fears that by allowing himself to experience his conflicting feelings, particularly regarding his parents, his identity will dissolve into chaos. It is significant that even with the superstructure of rigid belief are included attitudes concerning the certainty of chaos, catastrophe, etc.

The inability to cope with emotional ambiguity is thus reflected in inability to cope with cognitive ambiguity, since the individual fears that by recognising ambiguity in a situation he will be obliged to experience the emotional conflicts which have been repressed. The power of these

repressed emotional conflicts is such that undesired feelings (e.g. hatred of parents) may be displaced onto others (e.g. ethnically different groups) but more seriously to the individual they may emerge as uncontrolled emotional outbursts (e.g. aggression, fear, etc.).

Frenkel-Brunswick showed that emotional intolerance of ambiguity was associated with inability to cope in a variety of cognitive fields. Measurement of cognitive intolerance has focussed on rigid inappropriate behavior in perceptual tests involving a reversible figure ground pattern and sequential shape changes, and in application of problem-solving techniques. She suggests that situations perceived as lacking certainty are experienced as bewildering and disturbing, and consequently the ambiguity is denied by recourse to a fixed explanation and response behavior. The individual with a high intolerance of ambiguity will tend to behave in a stereotyped way with an expectancy of self-negating submission. He will tend to project onto the external world the feared conflicting emotions of his unconscious and thus will see the world as capricious, threatening, and uncontrollable.

Frenkel-Brunswick's work on "Intolerance of Ambiguity" was originally associated with the attempt to identify a personality profile of racial prejudice (the so-called "Authoritarian Personality" - Adorno et al 1950). This profile is measured by the F-Scale which amongst other sub-constructs includes items pertaining to Intolerance of Ambiguity. The F-Scale has been subjected to severe criticism on both theoretical and methodological grounds (see Kirscht and Dillehay 1967) and considerable doubt surrounds the meaning of authoritarianism as measured by this scale.

Although intolerance of Ambiguity was originally associated with authoritarianism some attention has been paid by personality theorists to developing Intolerance of Ambiguity as an important personality construct in its own right (e.g. Budner 1962). However in the present study it was felt that the comparative similarity of descriptions (by Frenkel-Brunswick) of the antecedents and outcomes of persons high in intolerance of ambiguity with descriptions of Polynesian peoples in traditional settings invited the use of the Frenkel-Brunswick measure of intolerance (in Martin and Westie 1959).

3. Summary and Hypotheses

Tolerance of ambiguity relates to the way in which the individual copes with the situations which he fears, in particular whether he interprets ambiguous situations as being situations of certainty, and thus reduces the range of interpretations to a minimum. These few fixed interpretations may be learned at an early age and remain substantially the same throughout life. The intolerant personality may thus be expected to function with less stress in an unchanging, simple environment; but to experience more stress in a changing, complex environment.

Frenkel-Brunswick suggested that intolerant children often have ethnic minority parents who were aspiring to join a majority group, consequently, the rigid rules they employed were drawn from their perception of requirements for entry to the desired majority group. These parents were often the children of immigrants to America.

It would appear that harshness and dogmatism in child-rearing is a critical antecedent of the Intolerant Personality. Frenkel-Brunswick's description of the repressed emotional conflicts is remarkably similar to Beaglehole and Ritchie's description of the Rakau Maori male. Previous

discussion of child-rearing (Parts 1 and 2) would suggest that Polynesian subjects will be more intolerant than European subjects due to their harsher child-rearing, and that significant differences will be found within the two groups. The literature seems to suggest a relationship between cognitive style and intolerance of ambiguity; the antecedents of child-rearing seem to be significant in both types, and the correlates of intolerance include disembedding perceptual tasks not wholly dissimilar to the GEFT. Thus it is expected that field independence will be positively related to tolerance of ambiguity, and field dependence will be positively related to intolerance of ambiguity.

Hypothesis

1. Differences will be found between the cultural groups in their levels of tolerance of ambiguity. These differences will be in the order of groups 1, 2, 3, 4 where group 1 will be most tolerant and group 4 least tolerant of ambiguity.

2. Field independence and Tolerance of Ambiguity will be positively correlated.

GOALS

A supervisor's exercising of power is assumed in the present study to be carried out within the context of a set of goals, that is, the supervisor seeks to influence his subordinates in order to achieve certain goals. Perrow (1961) suggests that a distinction exists between "official" organisational goals (i.e. as publicly stated by the organisation), and operating organisational goals (i.e. those goals to which the actual behavior in the organisation is directed). Business organisations of all sizes are typically associated with goals such as profit-making, product quality, and organisational growth (Dent, 1959) notwithstanding changes in recent years in the "official" goals of many companies which also emphasise concerns for such things as employee welfare, and community and environmental welfare.

Within the organisation management seeks to establish objectives and to secure the compliance of its members to act towards achieving those objectives or goals. Strauss (1963) in a discussion of the ways in which work activity is programmed, says that rules are standard operating procedures which may be distinguished from goals in that they are the guiding means by which the management hopes the ends (goals) will be accomplished. However, a critical factor which underlies the determinants of power strategies in organisationsis the degree to which the goals are internalised by members within the organisation, i.e. the norms and values of the members. If workers in a company are highly committed to achieving company goals then they may be assumed to be motivated to act in ways which will maximise goal achievement. Two other types of control structure exist within organisations; one is the network of technology and work flow which itself patterns human activity and interaction. The other is the hierarchy of

formal positions which are associated with access to levels of organisational sanctions. It is through this structure of positions, more correctly through the persons chosen to occupy those positions, that coordination of all control systems is carried out. Lieberman (1954) has shown that workers become more committed to organisational goals where they are promoted to supervisor, but also revert to their previous alienative committment if they are returned to the position of worker.

In addition to the official and operating goals of the organisation, individual managers, like other organisational members, have their own personal goals. These refer to the aims that the individual directs his behavior towards, in terms of the outcomes in his need satisfaction which accrue from his performance of his jobs in the organisation.

A supervisor's work goals are viewed in the present study to be a function of:

(1) his personal needs

a) material b) psychological

(2) organisational needs

a) task b) socio-emotional

His material personal needs refer to the material factors such as pay and working conditions which satisfy physiological needs. However, the psychological needs refer to his personality and social values which have considerable implications for the way in which a supervisor defines his situation. However, the organisation also has needs which relate to the achievement of task performance through the management of people. The organisation has appointed the supervisor to his position which differentiates him from a worker; in particular the supervisory position ascribes to the holder a higher active committment to organisational interests (with access

to organisational sanctions to achieve those interests) as opposed to the more passive commitment which may be expected of the worker. The organisation also has needs relating to the achievement of a socio-emotional climate (e.g. relationships between worker and supervisor, worker and company, and also worker and worker) which is conducive to achieving material goals. For the organisation, the socio-emotional outcomes of supervisory styles and behaviors are typically considered functional so long as material goals are met.

England (1975) has studied the values and goals of managers in the U.S.A., Japan, Korea, India and Australia. He found a substantial agreement between managers concerning the goals, even though there was also some significant variation both within cultures, and between cultures. Three clusters of organisational goals were found to be differentiated and to differ in salience for the managers:

Primary Goals	- High Productivity
	- Organisational Efficiency
Secondary Goals	- Organisational Growth
	- Profit Maximisation
	- Organisational Stability
	- Industry Leadership
	- Employee Welfare
Weak Goals	- Social Welfare

England suggests that the primary goals correspond to Simon (1964) maximisation criterion through which the secondary, and more specific goals are achieved. These goals were specified by England in his questionnaire rather than derived from content analysis of respondents' responses and only the last two goals above correspond to a "people-oriented" rather

than a "task-oriented" goal. However, it is interesting to note that the task-oriented goals were dominant in the scale of importance, although in the case of Australian managers, Employee and Social Welfare goals were valued relatively highly. Barret and Ryterband (1968) found that managers from developing countries attached more importance to employee welfare and community service as corporate goals than did American managers.

England also measured concepts dealing with personal goals of individual managers and his results indicate that Achievement, Creativity, Success, and Job Satisfaction have generally high salience as compared to Autonomy, Security, Individuality, Dignity, Money, Influence, Prestige, Power and Leisure. However, there were significant differences between managers from different countries; Indian managers attached high importance to personal goals (e.g. job satisfaction, security, individuality, dignity, prestige, and power). England reports Chowdhry's(1970) observations concerning Indian management "The typical organisation of a managing agency can be described as highly centralised and personal, with a rigid social structure". U.S. and Australian managers however attached much less importance to these "personal goals" when compared with the average scores for all countries, although Australian managers have a high "moralistic-humanistic" goal value orientation as compared with the American "pragmatic-organisational goal" orientation. Indian managers, by contrast, have a moralistic/compliance - organisation goal orientation.

The literature on supervisory leadership has traditionally focussed on identifying behavioral characteristics of effective supervisors (Rosen, 1970). In this case "effectiveness" has been related primarily to task performance, and secondarily to worker satisfaction. Many writers have posited a similar dichotomy in supervisory orientation, which has been variously

seen as attitudinal and behavioral:.

Blake and Mouton (1964) Task v. People orientation.

Halpin and Winer (1951) Initiating Structure v. Consideration.

Bales (1951) Task Orientation v. Socio-Emotional.

Fiedler (1967) Controlling leadership v. Permissive.

However, the attempts to link these orientations to performance in groups has been largely a failure (Vroom, 1976) for two reasons:

1) failure to take into account the situational factors

2) confusion between a) social values and personality characteristics emphasising personal relationships v. achievement,

and b) socio-emotional v. task goal orientation,

and c) level of commitment to achieving organisational goals,

and d) competence in analysing the situation and ability to develop power strategies contingent on the situation.

Bass (1962) has defined task orientation in terms of persistence towards achieving high standards of task performance and his ORI (task orientation test) indicates that such managers possess skills and motivations similar to the 9.9 managers (Blake and Mouton, 1964). Such managers are effective in such there is a congruence between their values and personality needs, their commitment to the organisation, and their skills in adapting to the needs of the situation. Bass contrasts task-oriented managers with self-oriented, and interaction-oriented managers who presumably are successful in, respectively, achieving self-goals and interaction goals within the situation of being a supervisor.

In the present study, a supervisor's behavior is seen as a function of his social values and personality which operating within a climate of organisational goal expectations affect his perception and defining of the situation and hence his propensities to act. For the supervisor socialised in a traditional culture the factory department and the power strategies required are viewed within a framework based on traditional beliefs and social values, as well as personal material needs. The theory of cognitive dissonance (Festinger, 1957) suggests that the individual will act to reduce dissonance in his field of action and consequently his perception of the goals towards which his supervisory action is directed, and the choice of means by which he acts to achieve those goals, are contingent on his social values and personality.

The social values and personality (e.g. cognitive style), discussed above as being associated with social traditionalism, seem to suggest that traditional people who become supervisors would be more interaction and people-oriented whilst modern people would be more task-oriented. This conclusion is partly supported by England (1975) study in that, for example, American managers (modern society) were more "task-oriented" whereas Indian managers (traditional society) were more "people-oriented" in their values. However, in applying England's (1975) findings, it must be remembered that his subjects were situated at higher levels of management in comparison to the first-line supervisor in the present study.

The "collective orientation" of Polynesians (see Part 1) suggests a higher concern by Polynesian supervisors to maintain close relationships at work, whilst the "self orientation" of Europeans is suggestive of a higher concern for production by European supervisors.

It should also be pointed out that the hypothesised social values and personality/group 3 and 4 indicate that the latter will be more traditional of

and more field dependent and thus more people-oriented, whilst group 1 will be more modern than group 2, and thus more task-oriented. However, a crucial factor in determining the Polynesian supervisors' orientation to task goals (e.g. production, quality, etc.) is the extent to which they accept organisational goals as surrogates for the production goals of their own traditional society. In the Pacific Islands, it has been suggested (Chapter 1) that two features of social life are of particular importance. These are:

a) Conformity to rules enforced by social control systems.

b) Close ties through relationships.

However, the force of traditional life is contingent on these two features being integrated and acting to support each other. People conform to "rules" partly because their social universe consists of close relationships with others who are in effect surveilling their conformity; furthermore, in the very conformity lies the maintenance of those social relationships (e.g. through reciprocity and obligation). Within the rules of traditional life are included requirements of each to produce (i.e. food, crafts, etc.) in a dependable manner, according to norms regarding quantity, quality, and work method albeit for distribution to the social group. Consequently, if the Pacific Island supervisor transposes the norms and rules of the company regarding task performance (i.e. production, quality, etc.) onto his existing set of rules, he may be expected to orient his behavior towards achieving that level of task performance just as he might have in the traditional setting. Thus it is not necessarily a case of his higher people orientation resulting in a lower task orientation since in his traditional setting task achievement is highly dependent on people orientation, albeit a close and constricting people orientation. In sum-

mary, the literature seems to suggest that Polynesians will perceive the achievement of people goals as being highly valued, but also see this as being congruent with the achievement of task goals. European supervisors, however, will perceive that task orientation is highly valued but is seen as being in conflict, to some extent, with people goals, and thus to be considered as a secondary orientation.

Hypothesis

Differences will be found between the cultural groups in their attachment to work goals. These differences will reflect differences in cultural values in the order of groups 4, 3, 2, 1 where:

(a) Group 4 will be most attached and group 1 least attached to "people goals".

(b) Group 4 will be least attached and group 1 most attached to "task goals".

POWER BASE

Orientation

Power is defined by Cartwright (1964) in the following way, "If an agent, O, has the capability of influencing, P, we say that O has power over P". This power, as Emerson (1962) points out, lies in P's dependency on O which is directly proportional to P's need to achieve goals mediated by O, and is inversely proportional to the availability of this need satisfaction outside of the O-P relationship. Blau (1964) differentiates power relationships from social exchange by suggesting that the former are relationships of unilateral dependence in which O establishes power over P either by supplying needed "services" that P cannot readily obtain elsewhere (direct power) or by threatening punishment (indirect power). Thus the choices facing a P who wishes to reduce his dependency on O are:

1. Supply other resources to O which are highly desired by O (i.e. convert the relationship to bilateral dependency).
2. obtain resources from a source other than O (i.e. transfer to another dependency source).
3. use coercive force to take the resources from O despite O's resistance (i.e. transform the relationship to one of O's dependence on P), or,
4. change the belief structure which supports the value according by P to the resources (i.e. the resources no longer have valence for P, and there is no dependency on O).

Dahl's (1957) study of power is grounded within a political framework of decision-making in contrast to Blau's essentially economic model of costs and rewards. However, for Dahl too, the base of power is highly significant and consist of "all the resources-opportunities, acts, objects, etc, - that he can exploit in order to effect the behavior of another". (p. 204)

Implicit in this definition however is the importance not so much of O's resources but of P's degree of dependen cy on them. In Barnard's (1938) famous dictum, "Authority lies with him to whom it applies", and thus the emphasis of writers in the power literature has been to categorise the bases of power in terms of their capacity to fulfill the need satisfactions of the agents subjected to them.

French and Raven's (1959) typology of power bases is firmly established in the expectations of P that O has the ability to mediate a given resource. These five categories or bases of power are:

1) Reward power - power whose basis is the ability to reward i.e. the administering of positive valences and/or the removal or decrease of negative values.

2) Coercive power - the ability that O possesses to punish P, i.e. the administering of negative valences and/or the removal or decrease of positive valences.

3) Legitimate power - that power that stems from internalised values in P which dictate that O has a legitimate right to influence P and that P has an obligation to accept this influence.

4) Referent power - the identification of P with O and consequent desire to share O's identity by behaving like O, and/or sharing O's beliefs.

5) Expert power - the extent of the knowledge or perception which P attributes to O concerning a particular domain.

French and Raven (1959) do not stress that these resources that P perceives O to possess are only bases of power if P has a need for the resources and has no easily substitutable source.

French and Raven (1959) have been subjected to criticism (Fox 1973) for their definition of legitimate power as a base. Legitimacy is an underlying variable of all bases in that if P perceives that O has no right to

mediate, for example, positive or negative sanctions, then P may not behave in the same way towards O's use of those sanctions as when he perceived them as legitimately exercised by O. Legitimacy also applies to the nature of the resource where whilst it may be seen as legitimate for O to punish, the means by which the punishment is carried out or the setting in which it is carried out, or the degree of the punishment may not be seen as legitimate.

Legitimate power in the French and Raven typology is essentially the authority which derives from position. This power is entangled with three aspects:

1) the contract between the individual and the organisation whereby the individual offers compliance in return for desired resources.

2) the individuals value system and personality characteristics, derived from child-rearing, concerning acceptance or rejection of authority figures and their prescriptions.

3) the sanctions which the holder of the position as the immediate representative of a controlling structure is able to exercise by virtue of the position.

Weber (1953) has written of types of legitimate order in which the legitimacy may be upheld by:

1) purely disinterested motives
   a) loyalty/affection
   b) a rational belief in the absolute validity of the order as an expression of ultimate values, or
   c) religious attitude, or
2) self-interest i.e. expectations of specific ulterior consequences.

Within a legitimate order, Weber defines authority (i.e. influence) as "an immediate relation of command and obedience such that management can

give orders to others with the claim that they shall, and the probability that they will, be obeyed purely as such regardless of particular content".

Weber suggests that the validity of an authority's claim to legitimacy may be based on:

1. Rational grounds - "resting on a belief in the legality of patterns of normative rules and the right of those elevated to authority under such rules to issue commands".
2. Traditional grounds - "resting on an established belief in the sanctity of immemorial traditions and the legitimacy of the status of those exercising authority under them".
3. Charismatic grounds - "resting on devotion to the specific and exceptional sanctity, heroism, or exemplary character of an individual person and of the normative patterns or order revealed or obtained by him.

The notion of legitimacy places the influence process with P since in the final instance it is P's perception of the legitimacy which determines his behavior. However, legitimacy is problematic in that its definition ranges from a "value-based" form to a "universal" form. Weber has a typology of obedience as follows:

tradition (habitual response) —— expediency ——— legitimacy

c.f. "discipline" (ie. self-interest) (i.e. collective interest)

increased certainty of obedience

passive active

tradition - I'll do it "without thinking".

expediency - I'll do it because it is in my interests to do so, i.e. avoid punishment or gain rewards.

legitimacy - I'll do it because it serves higher values, i.e. the interests of the collective.

Weber's three types of authority (influence) and their consequent obedience are:

1. legal authority - where obedience is owed to the legally established impersonal order.
2. traditional authority - where obedience is owed to the person of the chief who occupies a traditionally sanctioned position of authority.
3. charismatic authority - obedience is given by virtue of personal trust in the charismatic leader.

Weber's earlier discussion of rationality as a basis for legitimacy of an order perhaps allows a fourth type of authority which relates to the content of the influence and its rationality.

4. "rational authority" - obedience is given by virtue of a belief in the explicit rationality/logic of the proposed action.

Barnard (1938) examines this when he suggests that the authority of a command has two aspects:

1. subjective i.e. related to P's perception of the content of the command.
2. objective i.e. related to P's perception of the process by which the command is communicated.

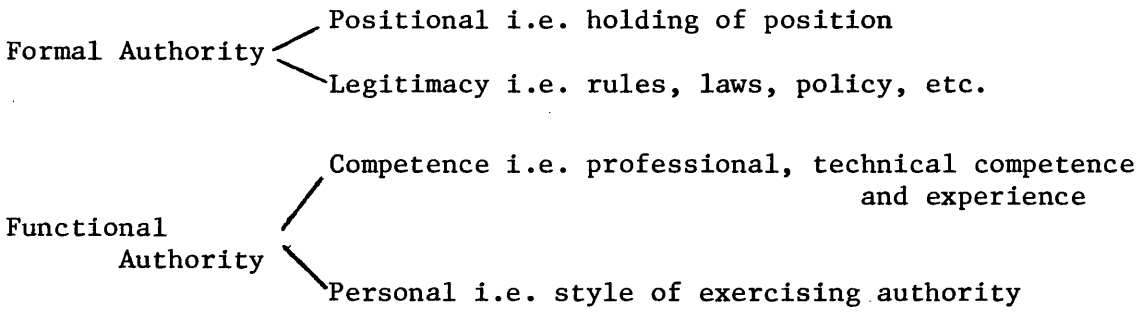
The "content" refers to P's perception of the implications of what is explicitly contained in the command (i.e. what does it mean, why was it conveyed), and the relationship of these implications to his personal interests and beliefs. The "process" refers to P's perception of implications of the means by which the command was conveyed i.e. including who conveyed it, how it was conveyed. Weber's attention is implicitly directed to aspects of this "process" of authority.

Compliance (or obedience) is clearly a function of P's perception of both the process and content of the command. Barnard postulates a zone of

indifference as applying to the subjective (content) aspect of the command in which P rates the command along a continuum of acceptability to him, and may typically assign it to a zone of indifference signifying his relative indifference as to what the order is and commitment to complying with it without resistence.

Simon (1957) uses a similar concept but applies it to Barnard's "objective" authority. Simon says "an individual accepts authority when he sets himself a general rule that permits the communicated decision of another to guide his own choice (i.e. to serve as a premise of that choice) independently of his judgement of the correctness or acceptability of the premise".

Peabody (1964) studied the constructs of power and authority in three different organisational settings; a police department, welfare office, and a school. He found that the lower participants of the organisations identified the bases of power with the organisation in different ways. Peabody categorised these Bases as:



Legitimacy in this case refers to the individual's perception of rules and structure beyond the supervisor whilst positional power referred to ability to mediate rewards/punishments. Peabody found that the Welfare department staff emphasised legitimacy and position, the Police department emphasised authority of the Person ., and the School authority of competence.

His distinction between formal and functional authority emphasises that the bases of power derive both from the position and from the person occupying the position.

It is the position which gives the supervisor access to organisational sanctions, and to the legitimacy associated with the organisation. However, referent power and expert power depend on the individual who occupies the position. Kanungo (1975) has suggested that the formal authority bases of power allow the supervisor to achieve a basic level of compliance in the worker but in order to achieve a higher order of commitment to the organisational goals it is necessary to invoke the bases associated with the person of the supervisor. Katz and Kahn (1966) distinguish between three types of behavior which are vital for a functioning organisation. These are:

1) that workers join and remain in the organisation.

2) that they carry out their job specifications in a dependable fashion.

3) that they behave in innovative and spontaneous ways to further contribute to achieving organisational objectives -- these include self-training, cooperation with others in the system, acting to avert damage to the organisation, creating a favourable attitude to the organisation in the community, and, generating constructive ideas for the improvement of organisational performance.

It has been suggested by some (e.g. Fox 1973) that social values may be generated in industrialised cultures whereby the industrial worker feels that he only owes the organisation "dependable behavior" and a minimum level of performance, but the organisation has to <u>earn</u> higher performance by incurring bases of ligitimacy which relate to the <u>person</u> of the supervisor, in addition to his <u>position</u>.

In a study of supervisory bases of power and group effectiveness

and
Bachman, Bowers / Marcus, 1965), legitimate power was ranked as most important by industrial workers in explaining why they obeyed their supervisor, followed by expert, reward, referent, and coercive power. However, referent power was found to be most positively related to group effectiveness suggesting that the personal relationship between the supervisor and the workers was most important in achieving performance over and above minimal levels of compliance.

However, the evidence from the cross-cultural literature dealing with supervisory behavior and values suggests that culture plays a significant role in shaping the power base of the supervisor. Studies have demonstrated cultural differences in worker preferences for supervisory power; Williams, Whyte and Green (1966) found that Peruvian workers valued the positional, technical, and initiating structure ability of their supervisors. This was associated with a social value of low interpersonal trust which contrasted with American workers high interpersonal trust and orientation to "human-relations" power bases in their supervisors. Barrett and Ryterband (1968) found many examples of ethnic differences in orientation to power, including a finding that Swiss managers preferred a coercive supervisory style whilst out of 14 countries the Norwegians were least attached to a coercive model. British managers least preferred a passive subordinate, whilst Greek managers most preferred a passive subordinate.

In traditional Polynesian culture, the supervisor is usually related to the workers (e.g. Pitt and McPherson, 1976; Metge, 1976) because he is either the chief or head of the household group, or has been chosen from within the group. He is expected to be expert in the task at hand, and more particularly to demonstrate a concern for his workers in the way he supervises (McPherson, 1975). However, this concern for people is founded within a tight society (see Chapter 1 above) in which the individual is

expected to conform in attitudes and behavior according to fixed standards. His behavior, furthermore, is also open to judgement and if found wanting (e.g. too individualistic, or too achievement oriented) is subject to severe punishment in the form of social shame, or in extreme cases, of banishment from the social group. As discussed above (Chapter 1), this punishment sanction is extremely severe because of its traumatic impact on self-identity which, in the case of Polynesians, is intimately linked to group identity. The reward sanctions for conforming behavior consist of reiteration of the individuals membership of the group, and increased prestige in the case where the individual has through his behavior, served the group or advanced its prestige.

Thus, the literature seems to suggest that in Polynesia, leadership is dependent on bases of power which are both "coercive" and "permissive" in that whilst personal relationships within the working relationship is more highly valued than in European cultures, at the same time the rewards and punishments for non-compliance are more severe in Polynesian cultures in terms of their impact on the individual. However, the comparison of European and Polynesian culture is problematic because the processes are so different; a mild, but public, rebuke by the supervisor to the worker might constitute no punishment for the European, but a severe punishment for the Polynesian.

A further aspect of power concerns the value associated with the bases of power. In a traditional society, which emphasises conformity, deviant behavior is automatically open to punishment. However, in the modern society, which emphasises individualism, deviant behavior may be judged more on the basis of its impact on the particular situation. For example, if a worker uses a method of doing his job which is different from the "official"

method, the European supervisor may decide whether to reward or punish on the basis of the results of the method. If it works better than the old method, then it is good, if not it is bad. A more traditional supervisor may not consider the outcome of the deviance as important as the fact that deviance has occurred and therefore should be punished.

Another crucial dimension which may differentiate the cultural groups concerns the nature of the relationship between supervisor and workers; the Polynesian (traditional) supervisor may be more likely to develop a referent base of power than the European (modern) supervisor. This is, however, problematical because in Polynesian culture, the relationship between supervisor and worker may be one of kinship or friendship but may paradoxically not be close in terms of high trust and intimacy (c.f. Beaglehole and Ritchie, 1961), whereas in European culture, it is not so likely that a kinship relationship will exist (in fact it may be disapproved of) between supervisor and worker. Another socialising influence is in operation; the training of managers over a 15-year period (at least) in "human relations management" i.e. that supervisors should treat their workers in a friendly and participating fashion since this will increase worker satisfaction with the job and consequently improve worker performance. Various writers (England, 1975; Haire et al, 1966) have suggested that this organisational socialisation has had an impact on western managers, but the precise nature of this impact has been hard to define. Europeans may perceive participation/human relations as a <u>theoretical</u> power base which is, however, not very <u>practical</u>.

However, what is perhaps more important, is that Europeans may not be likely to view an acceptable power strategy as one which involves supervisory influence over workers through the development of close personal relationships

with the workers. Rather, the close personal relationships may be seen as hindering the supervisor in exercising his authority and achieving compliance in the workgroup. But to the Polynesian supervisor, the only way to influence may be seen as being through the developing and maintaining of close personal relationships with the workers, since in the traditional pattern of life, kinship and working relationships (i.e. including the exercising of power) are more integrated than they are in the modern pattern of life.

Cartwright (1964) distinguishes "range of power" from "bases of power". The supervisors' range of power refers to the number of states of P over which O has a set of power resources. In studies of the exercising of power in industrial organisations, an interesting question is to what extent does the supervisor possess resources of power over the worker outside of the working situation. This is a function of the range of his relationship with the worker especially whether he has a personal or social relationship with the worker outside of work. In western industrialised cultures, the instrumental or extrinsic attitude to work (Goldthorpe, 1967; Hulin, 1968) suggests that working life is perceived to be sharply differentiated from non-work life. Working life is apparently seen by workers as the period of time for which they are actually being paid by the organization and the power of the organisation is seen as legitimate only within that time frame. This attitude tends to reduce somewhat the higher the hierarchical or professional position the individual occupies where the organisation is seen to have some right to demand that working hours be lengthened or that "work" is taken home to be completed within the non-work environment.

However, in more traditional cultures, this sharp differentiation between work and non-work environments becomes blurred because all activity

is oriented towards the interest of the collective. Work is carried out typically to produce food for the group (e.g. kin group, tribe), and other activities are similarly justified only to the extent that they serve to maintain the relationships within the group and thus keep the group strong. Authority figures are thus legitimately able to require members to carry out any activity/to hold any attitude so long as it can be demonstrated to be in the interests of the group, and so long as the authority figure maintain the legitimacy of his position by continually acting (and being perceived to act) in the group's interest. Thus in the traditional society, the reciprocity of obligation between the individual and the authority figure extend across many dimensions of life and activities.

Even in an industrialised society, a traditional culture may have a marked influence on values concerning the appropriate range of power of the organisation over the worker. In Japan, for example, the organisation is expected to exercise power in workers' personal lives by the provision of housing and other services. Whitehill (1964) found that Japanese workers had a higher orientation than American workers in the following aspects of range:

1) company had duty to help workers who lacked job security.
2) company should provide housing for its workers.
3) company should be involved in workers' personal life.

In western industrialized societies, this range of power over "personal" lives tends to be more legitimated at higher levels in the organisation (Whyte, 1956), and in organisations, the nature of whose work requires fixed standards of behavior to be observed by the individual in his personal as well as work life (Schein and Lippitt, 1966). Thus a manager may find his promotion depends on his wife's behavior being vetted by the organisation, and

the police force recruit is subjected to information searches concerning his personal behavior, past and present.

However, at the level of supervisory power over workers, western norms tend to be that active intrusion by the supervisor into the workers' personal life is seen as an intrusion by the worker as well as by the supervisor. It may also be seen by the supervisor as placing him in a role conflict (Kahn, Wolfe et al, 1964) if the intrusion involves the supervisor having a relationship of friendship with the worker in the private life sphere, as well as an authority relationship in the worklife sphere. The western supervisor feels that the norms of what constitutes friendship may not permit him to retain the role distance expected in the authority relationship and thus he fears that his positional power bases within the work sphere will be weakened. The worker similarly may not welcome a relationship with the supervisor outside work because he interprets the presence of the supervisor as surveillance which is contrary to his social values of freedom of activity and individualism.

However in Polynesian societies, the traditional pattern of life is an integration of work and personal life spheres. Maoris, for example, have a word which means "work" and "activity", and thus do not distinguish between them in the same way that the English language does. Maoris say that "a person is one, whether at work or play" (Metge, 1976, p. 72). In Samoa, the supervisor of work activity will also be the Matai (i.e. kin group chief) (Pitt and McPherson, 1976) and consequently his range of power extends over many dimensions of the life of the worker (relative).

In summary, two dimensions have been identified which are expected to differentiate the cultural groups' bases of power. The first dimension, which the literature suggests distinguishes traditional from modern supervisors' power bases, concerns coercive / bases which are viewed as those bases

perceived as resources which can be used for "pulling" the worker towards approved behavior, and also those "pushing" him away from unapproved behavior. The conformity and strict social control in traditional societies is seen as being linked to coerciveness. Polynesian supervisors, whilst their constructs of reward and punishment may differ markedly from European supervisors, are predicted to attribute a higher coercive base of power to themselves than do European supervisors, since according to their social values, it is axiomatic to have at the disposal of leaders resources for social control, rather than to depend on normative bases of compliance.

The second dimension refers to the personal, as opposed to formal organisational relationship between supervisor and worker. The notion of "range" suggests that a supervisor may extend his referent base of power by possessing a set of personal or social relationships with his workers outside of the workplace. In Polynesian culture, the boundary between work and non-work environments is blurred whereas in European culture, a clear boundary exists which has the effect of separating personal from work role relationships.

The essential integration in traditional Polynesian life of these two dimensions suggests that Polynesians will report both a "referent" and "coercive" power base to a greater extent than will European supervisors.

Hypothesis

Differences will be found between the cultural groups in their bases of power. These differences will reflect differences in cultural values in the order of group 4, 3, 2, 1 where:

(a) group 4 will have highest attachment and group 1 least attachment to a 'referent' base of power.

(b) group 4 will have highest attachment and group 1 least attachment to a 'coercive' base of power.

POWER STRATEGIES

Power strategies are the ways in which O (the agent exercising the power) acts in order to achieve P's (the agent subjected to the power) compliance to his wishes. Schopler (1965) suggests that O is attempting to increase his power position when he is engaging in a power strategy. The bases of power to which O has access are "inert or passive" (Dahl, 1957, p. 203) and must be activated and exploited if O is to succeed in getting P to do X. Dahl refers to "means of power" as "a mediating activity" by O between O's base and P's response; (in this study "means" of power are synonymous with "power strategies"). However, whilst the bases of power are passive from O's standpoint, they are active mechanisms of influence from P's standpoint because much of P's compliance to organisational requirements of behavior and attitudes is determined by his belief that these bases exist and that the bases are salient for him. It would be impossible for the supervisor to exercise the constant amount of surveillance and interaction with each worker which would be required to achieve compliance if P only complied when subjected to a power strategy i.e. the activating by O of a base of power. Thus the use of a power strategy indicates that something has happened that denotes non-compliance by P and that O is obliged to increase his power over P by activating a power base so that P will now comply. In this view, power strategies are <u>reactive behaviors</u> rather than constant behaviors, they represent a response to a defined need to increase compliance.

Some writers on power (e.g. Cartwright, 1965; Lukes, 1974) have raised the problem of intent in analysis of the exercising of influence. One aspect of intent concerns whether the outcome of the influence was an outcome intended to occur by O. The question is raised as to whether for influence

to have taken place, this intended outcome is required, as opposed to unintended outcomes. Many definitions of power (e.g. Tawney, 1931, p. 230; Russell, 1938, p. 35) seem to require intention for power and influence to occur. Another aspect of intent concerns the change in behavior of P which is contingent on O's behavior but which is not the product of intended compliance attempts by O towards P. Lippitt (1952, p. 37) distinguished between "behavioral contagion" (i.e. referent power) in which children copied desired behaviors of high status children, as opposed to "direct influence" in which intention to influence was present. This type of response is also to be distinguished from a change in P which O desired to happen but did not consciously attempt to influence.

Another important aspect of power strategies is that the use of them may in fact reduce the salience of the power base as well as reduce the state of influence of O over P. Blau (1964) economic model of power sees power bases as stocks of capital which are reduced as the power holder (O) activates them in the form of power strategies. He characterises power relationships as involving dependency emanating from P's need for resources held by O; but when O actually has to supply the resources in order to get P to comply, then the stock held by O is reduced. The economic model thus suggests a balance between P's receipt of the resources and P's obligations to now comply with O, but as is the result of any debt payment, the obligation of P no longer exists. In short, O is more powerful to the extent that he does <u>not</u> have to ask P to repay his debts because doing so tends to transform the relationship into an exchange mode in which relative equality of status is presumed (Blau, 1964, p. 185). Following this analogy, O may increase his power base by investing in P, that is, by supplying services over and above immediate requirements, so that P may feel obliged to be more

compliant than otherwise. For example, a supervisor may allow his group off early from work in the hope that they will work harder than normal on their next return to work.

Strategies (means) of power have been classified in different ways in the literature. Cartwright (1965) summarises these as:

1) O exercises physical control over P's body.

2) O exercises control over the gains and costs that P will actually experience.

3) O exercises control over the information available to P.

4) O makes use of P's attitude towards being influenced by O.

The analysis of power strategies and influence behavior is inextricably linked with the study of leadership. According to Hollander and Julian (1969, p. 387) "leadership constitutes an influence relationship between two, or usually more, persons who depend on one another for the attainment of certain mutual goals within a group situation", whilst a leader is a person who occupies a central role in that process.

The leadership literature which pertains to the present study is that dealing with the process whereby a formal leader (i.e. person in an authority position) exercises influence over a group (e.g. Stogdill 1974, Chapter 5). The emphasis in the literature has been to measure leadership behavior and compare it with group performance and satisfaction as a means of evaluating the relative merits of one power strategy over another in achieving formal goals (such as production, productivity, etc.). A further aim has been to study the relationship between the formal goal outcomes and the informal outcomes of attitudes and behavior of the group; the typical measure used has been job satisfaction.

Supervisory behavior has been measured using the following perspectives:

1) as viewed by subordinates.

2) as viewed by social scientists.

3) as viewed by higher managers or peers.

4) as measured by self-report.

The Ohio State studies, using factor analysis of observed behaviors, identified two dimensions of supervisory behavior which accounted for the most variance. These were:

1) Consideration - essentially a positive socio-emotional category emphasizing warmth, liking, trust and respect.

2) Initiating Structure - the organisation and structuring of roles, work procedures and activities in the group (Halpin and Winer, 1957). This research method, involving observation by social scientists, was supplemented by the construction of questionnaires for report by subordinates as well as supervisors' superiors concerning supervisory behavior (Hemphill and Coons, 1957; Fleishman, 1957(a), 1957(b)).

The Michigan studies, by contrast, were directed at comparing the behavior of supervisors deemed to be effective with those seen as ineffective in an attempt to identify any behavior which could be causally related to effectiveness. Studies (e.g. Katz, Maccoby and Morse, 1950) suggested that more effective supervisors were differentiated from less effective ones in that they were more frequently employee-centred as opposed to production-centred, were more likely to exercise general rather than close supervision, and more likely to differentiate their roles and duties from those of their subordinates. The outcomes of a series of studies has been summarised by Likert (1961, 1967) who suggests that three factors which constitute "System 4 Management" distinguish the most effective supervisory power

strategies. These are:

1) supervisor conducting supportive relationships with subordinates which enhance the subordinates esteem needs for feelings of personal worth.

2) using group methods of decision-making concerning means of achieving agreed goals, which activate affiliation motivational needs.

3) setting high performance goals which activate higher order esteem needs of motivation.

"Task" orientation is a concept often advanced in the literature and compared with "People" orientation. However, task orientation may refer to a personality dimension (Bass, 1962) or to a motivational dimension indicating commitment to task goals, or to a power strategy which emphasises structure and close control of subordinates (Blake and Mouton, 1964), or to an attitude that "the ends justify the means" in that any means are appropriate so long as the task is achieved (regardless of the effect on subordinate satisfactions). "People orientation" is often used to refer to behavior directed towards achieving and maintaining friendly and supportive relationships per se (Blake and Mouton), it can also, however, be used to describe power strategies directed at achieving compliance through manipulation of close relationship. Etzioni (1961) developed a typology of power strategies in order to be able to classify and compare complex organisations. He developed three categories of means:

1) Coercive means - "the application or threat of application of physical sanctions such as infliction of pain, deformity or death; generation of frustration through restriction of movement; or controlling through force the satisfaction of needs such as those for food, etc.".

2) Remunerative means - "based on control over material resources and rewards through allocation of salaries and wages, commissions and contributions, fringe benefits, services and commodities".

3) Normative (Persuasive, Manipulative, Suggestive) Means - "rests on the allocation and manipulation of symbolic rewards and deprivations through employment of leaders, manipulation of mass media, allocation of esteem and prestige symbols, administration of ritual, and influence over the distribution of "acceptance" and "positive response".

Etzioni draws attention to the kinds of compliance relationships which are formed by the use of each power strategy with organisational participants classified as alienative, calculative or moral, according to their involvement/commitment to organisational goals. Thus his typology of compliance relationships is:

	Alienative	Calculative	Moral
Coercive	1	2	3
Remunerative	4	5	6
Normative	7	8	9

The three congruent compliance relationships are Coercive (1), Utilitarian (5), and Normative (9); these are more likely to be found in organisational settings because by their congruency between power strategy and subordinate dependency, they are more effective in achieving organisational goals.

Etzioni's work was an attempt to type all possible forms of organisation from concentration camps to churches. He considered that depending on the goals of an organisation, it would tend to emphasise one power strategy throughout its hierarchical chain although he did allow that secondary strategies might also be enjoyed. The goals of Industrial Organisations were viewed as maximising profit through the use of productive resources in which labour is employed as a key resource; the labour of the members is paid for in wages and salaries and consequently the dominant power

strategy of industrial organisations was viewed as being Remunerative. However, in the present study, all three strategies are viewed as being potentially at the disposal of the supervisor, although in the case of coercive power, the emphasis is naturally placed on "restriction of movement" (since deliberate physical coercion by supervisors usually is not sanctioned in industrial organisations) and punitive actions which generally are designed to have highly negative salience for the subordinate.

It has been suggested (Rosen, 1970) that first-line supervisors in America have little control over rewards and punishments as means of power. Examples are given of the eroding power of the supervisor to fire men (punishment) or to adjust payments (rewards) without recourse to higher authority (e.g. Works Manager, Personnel Department or other authority). However, it must be pointed out that even though the traditional formal powers of the supervisor have been reduced over a number of years, (especially as a result of industrial legislation) many observers (e.g. Dunkerly 1975) have drawn attention to other important powers still possessed by the modern supervisor, such as access to information within the factory.

Fiedler's (1967) approach to the study of leadership behavior has been to focus on the factors inherent in the situation in which O is attempting to influence P. His view is that the effectiveness (of task goal achievement) of a supervisory style is dependent on its congruence with predetermined appropriateness factors inherent in the situation. These factors are:

1) Task Structure - i.e. the degree of predetermined structure inherent in the performing of the task.

2) Leader-Member Relations - i.e. the degree of liking and interpersonal trust held by the subordinates towards the leader.

3) Position Power - i.e. the formal powers (sanctions) invested by the organisation in the position which the leader occupies.

Fiedler's view was that low-task structure, poor leader-member relations, and low-position power placed the leader in an unfavourable position vis-a-vis the influencing of his subordinates. By contrast a pattern of high task structure, positive leader-member relations, and high position power placed the leader in a favourable position. The three situational variables are subject to only two measurements (high or low) and the number of combinations of situational variables is thus limited to eight. All other combinations than those mentioned above are deemed to be intermediate in favourableness.

Supervisory style is measured in Fiedler's Model by a scale based on the supervisor's degree of rejection or negative feelings of his "least-preferred co-worker" (i.e. a person he has worked with who he least liked working with). A low LPC score indicates a high rejection of this co-worker. This measure has been heavily criticised in the literature (e.g. Vecchio, 1976) mainly because its meaning has not been adequately explained. However, the summary of Fiedler's findings is that where the situation is highly favourable or highly unfavourable to the leader, a low LPC leader will be more effective whereas where the situation is of intermediate favourableness, a high LPC leader will be more effective.

Fiedler views the dimensions of the situation as fixed; however, in the present study, they are viewed as being susceptible to manipulation by the supervisor i.e. they are seen as alternative or complementary power strategies. Thus the supervisor may use power strategies of:

1) task structure - in which he increases the structure by, for example, specifying detailed procedures, or increasing the checks on subordinates' performance, etc.

2) leader-worker relations - in which he developes trust and friendship between the group and himself e.g. by helping workers with problems, by being fair to workers, etc.

3) Position power aggrandisement - in which he develops the formal power inherent in his position e.g. by vicariously exercising power derived from a higher position, as by emphasising company rules, etc.

Determinants of Power Strategies

If a supervisor possesses all the bases required for the exercising of any power strategy, how does he choose which strategy/strategies he will use? McGregor's (1960) view is that the choice will depend on the supervisor's theory of the nature of man in which he either sees the man as passive (Theory X) or as active (Theory Y). In the case of Theory X, the supervisor considers that the worker is inherently unlikely to contribute to organisational goals of his own volition, and thus an "active" power strategy is required to achieve appropriate compliance in the form of adequate role performance. This "active" power strategy/may consist of a reward-punishment strategy of the supervisor towards the worker in which the latter is rewarded for compliance and punished for non-compliance. Another active power strategy consists of close supervision in which the supervisor increases the task structure associated with the worker so that his compliance is largely determined by the situation (e.g. machine, rules, etc.), and is monitored closely (e.g. by supervisor, control procedure, machine) to quickly locate deviance.

(Herzberg, 1959)(KITA)

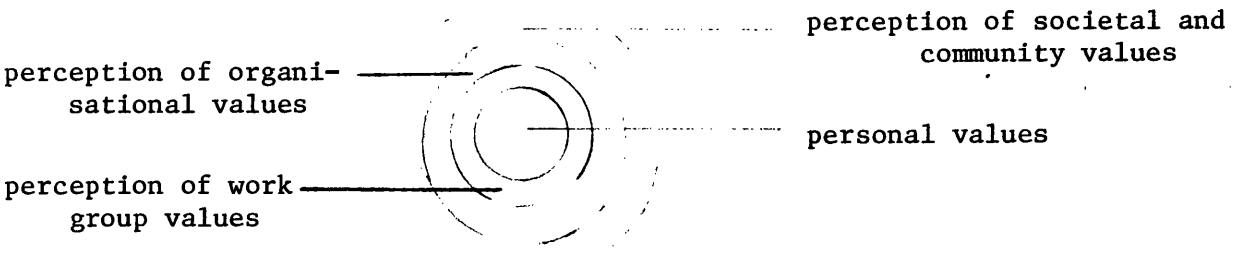
In the case of a Theory Y attitude, the supervisor considers that the worker is likely to contribute to achieving organisational goals of his own volition, given that the situation in which he is contained is so designed that his higher order needs for self-esteem and self-actualisation (c.f. Maslow, 1954) are activated. In this case, a "passive" power strategy is seen by the supervisor to be appropriate which may include developing trust and friendship with the worker, de-emphasising position power by engaging in participative decision-making, reducing task structure in order to allow the worker to control his task behavior etc.

McGregor's model of supervisory attitudes, which constitutes such a significant part of modern management thinking, has been heavily criticised (Fein 1976) for its lack of empirical support. However, the contribution of McGregor is to suggest that the attitudes and values are highly significant in determining supervisory behavior and it is this view which is used to develop the hypotheses in the present study. These attitudes and values are of particular importance in three spheres:

1) the supervisors' own attitudes and values concerning authority, power, and legitimacy.

2) the supervisors' perception of the attitudes and values of his subordinate.

3) his perception of the attitude and values salient within the organisation.



The "onion" model indicates the layers of value orientations, however, it is suggested that the perceptions of all other value sets will be affected by the individual supervisors own value set. He will attribute to others by viewing them through his own perceptual set.

Rosenberg and Pearlin (1962) attempted to discover what criterion (including values) underlay nurses choices between alternative strategies to achieve compliance of their patients. A number of factors were identified from this study (Cartwright, 1964):

1) the value system of the nursing profession.
2) the predicted effectiveness of the means.
3) the immediate costs or work for the nurse.
4) delayed consequences that might be expected.
5) consequences for relationships with other patients.
6) the nurses' orientation to work.
7) the nurses' status or position in the hospital structure (p. 15). In this case, the nurse depends partly for her choice of strategy on her personal values regarding work and relationships, as well as on the values of her professional reference group.

It is the proposition of the present study that the primary underlying factor in the supervisors' choice of power strategy will be his social values and personality, since it is these which have fashioned in part the power base from which he has drawn the resources to exercise the strategies. Furthermore, it is assumed that the supervisor will behave in accordance with his own needs for cognitive consonance (Festinger, 1957) in preferring not to use power strategies which are dissonant with his needs as expressed in his personality and social values. Haire, Ghiselli and Porter (1963) conducted a comparative study of managerial attitudes and values in 14 countries.

In their discussion of the differences between managerial attitudes, between different countries (and culturally-linked clusters of countries) concerning power and control, they postulated that a factor which was additional to the effect of the degree of industrialisation was "the view that managements' attitude about control is part of a broad web of values and beliefs determined by and part of a stream of cultural traditions outside the business" (p. 420). Countries such as Italy and Denmark were more authoritarian, in terms of managerial attitudes about power strategies, than were the USA and Norway. Clark and McCabe (1970) used the same methodology as Haire et al to compare managerial beliefs in Australia with the other 14 countries. This study showed that Australian managers held similar beliefs about leadership and power as managers in England and the USA; they approve of democratic and participative non-management strategies but they lack belief in the capacity and trustworthiness of subordinates to respond positively to such strategies. It is suggested that one reason for the acceptance of the notion of participation is that it has become part of a management ideology or "conventional wisdom" even though it is not necessarily a typical management practice.

Ryterband and Barrett (1970) studied preferred styles of supervision as reported by managers from 8 countries and showed that significant differences existed between the cultures e.g. the Swiss managers most preferred coercive supervisors whilst Norwegians least preferred it. The authors suggest that their study supports the view of others (Schein and Bennis, 1965; Bradford, Gibb and Benne, 1964; Tannebaum, Weschler and Massorick, 1961) that the personal convictions of managers will be a major determinant of supervisory power strategies.

Polynesian and European cultures have been typed as traditional and

modern and it has been suggested that a central distinguishing feature of traditional societies is their conformity and tight social control (see Part 1). In the traditional Polynesian society, this social control is a function of the "lack of privacy" of members in that "everybody knows what everybody else is doing", especially if somebody is doing something that shouldn't be done! (c.f. Mead, 1928). As Shore (1977) points out, the deviant action is not necessarily wrong as long as no one sees it done; consequently, the stability and survival of society rests on systems of social control of which one is surveillance (c.f. the Samoans views concerning the bad effects of everybody having closed European-style houses which reduce surveillance of family life, Pitt, 1971).

In more modern society where conformity is not so important, the social values emphasising surveillance systems of control are less salient. Thus it is hypothesised in the present study that Polynesian supervisors will emphasise power strategies characteristic of "close supervision".

These may include, for example, structuring the workers' task so that his performance can be easily checked, relying on company rules to enforce specific work methods rather than allowing freedom for the worker to innovate, and using sanctions inherent in his position to encourage compliance of his workers. However, as has been pointed out in the earlier discussion of Supervisory Goals and Power-Base, the Polynesian supervisor will maintain his close supervision, not only by recourse to the organisational structure, but also by developing his close relationship ties with the worker. It is thus suggested that the Polynesian supervisor will adopt power strategies characteristic of developing "leader-worker relations". These may include demonstration of his caring for the workers as persons, approaching them in a friendly manner, and sharing feelings with them.

In summary, it is predicted that Polynesian supervisors will emphasise both close supervision and leader-worker relations to a greater extent than European supervisors.

Hypothesis

Differences will be found between the cultural groups in their strategies of power. These differences will reflect differences in cultural values in the order of group 4, 3, 2, 1 where group 4 will have highest attachment and group 1 least attachment to a power strategy involving both close personal relationships and close surveillance of their workers.

OWN EFFECTIVENESS

The measurement of supervisory effectiveness in the research literature has sometimes involved either a subjective judgement by the supervisors' superior, his subordinates, or the social scientist observer. The other method has been to measure a series of outcomes from the working situation; task outcomes, such as productivity, quality, accidents, etc., and socio-emotional outcomes such as workgroup job satisfaction. However, there does not seem to be a body of literature dealing with supervisory perceptions of their own effectiveness.

In the present study it is not the objective measure of effectiveness which is of interest so much as the dimensions of effectiveness on which differences between the cultural groups can be found. The thrust of this study is directed at measuring differences in subjective culture (Triandis, 1972), that is to identify those ways in which the constellation of social values which constitutes a "culture" causes a member of that culture to attach different meanings to a situation, when compared with a member from another culture. Thus, throughout this chapter, the variables which seem to be of significance to the exercising of power have been explored, not in terms of each groups' objective standing but rather in terms of those dimensions which, by differentiating the groups, also indicate significant differences in subjective culture. It has been suggested that these subjective meanings are themselves subject to a principle of congruity (Osgood, Suci, Tannenbaum, 1957) in each the pattern of meanings attached to each variable by each group is internally consistent within that group.

Supervisory effectiveness, as used in the present study, refers to the supervisors' perceptions of how effective he is in achieving the work goals with which his position confronts him. Thus, according to a principle

of congruity, it is expected that each cultural group will perceive themselves to be more effective than other groups in achieving those goals to which they attached higher values than did the other groups, and less effective in achieving goals to which they attached lower values than other groups. It was hypothesised above that more modern supervisors (i.e. Europeans) would tend to attach higher values to "task" goals and more traditional supervisors (i.e. Polynesians) would attach higher values to "people" goals. Therefore, it is suggested that the same groups will perceive themselves to be more highly effective in each dimension.

Hypothesis

Differences will be found between the cultural groups in their perceptions of their own effectiveness. These differences will reflect differences in cultural values in the order of group 4, 3, 2, 1 where:-

(a) Group 4 will perceive themselves to be most effective and group 1 will perceive themselves as least effective in achieving "people-goals".

(b) Group 4 will perceive themselves to be least effective and group 1 will perceive themselves as most effective in achieving "task-goals".

JOB SATISFACTION

Job satisfaction refers to "affective orientations on the part of individuals towards work roles that they are presently occupying" (Vroom, 1964). Job satisfaction is an attitudinal outcome which is a function of the relationship between motivational needs and work-related goals, and the extent to which expectations concerning outcomes are met (Porter and Lawler, 1967). A behavioral outcome which arises from the individual performing a work role is performance effectiveness, which is often viewed as being positively related to job satisfaction, even though this is not well supported in the literature (e.g. Brayfield and Crockett, 1955).

Job satisfaction has been viewed both as a general variable and as a series of specific variables which correspond to different properties of work roles. Some of the literature suggests that the various specific job satisfactions are in fact positively inter-correlated and thus constitute an overall dimension (Wherry, 1954; and Dabas, 1958). However, Herzberg, (1959, 1966) suggests that the specific variables of job satisfaction constitute two dimensions which are equivalent to negative valences of the job (hygienes or job dissatisfiers) and positive valences of the job (motivators or job satisfiers). These two dimensions were identified for samples of Engineers and Accountants as consisting of:

Hygienes

- Company Policy and Administration
- Working Conditions
- Supervision
- Interpersonal Relations
- Salary

Motivators

Achievement

Recognition

Work Itself

Responsibility

Advancement

Schwartz (1959) found that relationships with subordinates was a motivator factor (and also a weaker hygiene factor) for a sample of lower-level supervisors in utility industry. However, in a study of Finnish supervisors (Herzberg, 1965), this factor was not significant. Herzberg's model of job satisfaction has been heavily criticised on methodological grounds (e.g. House and Wigdor, 1970) but the factors generated from the content analysis procedures used in the Herzberg studies are partially supported as valid specific variables of job satisfaction in a survey of literature by Vroom (1964, p. 102-103). Vroom suggests that seven factors have been identified

- attitude towards the company and its management.
- promotional opportunities.
- content of the job.
- supervision.
- financial rewards.
- working conditions.
- co-workers.

The studies of job satisfaction in relation to these dimensions have until the last ten years been more directed at identifying worker satisfaction rather than managerial satisfaction (Stogdill, 1974). However, a number of studies related to managerial job satisfaction, albeit at differen

levels in the hierarchy, have produced some general findings. Stogdill (1974) cite Morse's finding that supervisory personnel were more satisfied with their jobs and with the company as a place to work than were workers. They were, however, less satisfied than workers with pay, and had similar satisfaction to workers concerning advancement. This finding supported five studies cited by Herzberg, Mausner, Peterson and Capwell (1957) which related job satisfaction of workers with their supervisors. Handyside (1961) also found that "median satisfaction" was higher for managers than it was for production workers, although Brown and Neitzel (1952) concluded that moral scores for supervisors increased according to the hierarchical level of the supervisor, thus first-line supervisors were less satisfied than higher managers though were more satisfied than workers. Subsequently, Porter (1961, 1964) has elaborated on these findings and demonstrated that satisfaction related to esteem, autonomy, and self-actualisation needs increases with level, although satisfaction with social and security needs remains constant. However, Stogdill (1974) reviewed a number of studies in which it is suggested that lower-level supervisors are more oriented to job security than are higher managers.

Various studies suggest relationships between performance and dimensions of job satisfaction. Ghiselli (1968) found that successful managers had less desire for seniority and financial reward than unsuccessful ones, and Slocum, Miller, and Misshauk (1970) reported that high-producing foremen are more satisfied than low-producing foremen.

Stogdill (1974) reports that several studies (Sequeriu, 1962; Kelly, 1964; Mandell and Duckworth, 1955; Moore and Kennedy, 1946) show that "first-line supervisors view the technical aspects of their jobs as more important than the human relations aspect" (p. 116). However, Pfiffner and Wilson (19

found that low-level supervisors were more likely than high-level supervisors to identify with their workgroups and to be less critical of their workers. Also, Schwartz, Jenusaitis and Stark (1966) showed that foremen placed a higher value on job security, wages and working conditions, than on interpersonal relations.

This question of the relative importance of interpersonal relations as a satisfying factor is evidently complex, Lennerlof (1965) concluded that valuation of interpersonal relations rises according to organisational supervisors attaching more importance to it than did higher managers, but less importance than it held for workers.

Supervisors are often described as the "man-in-the-middle" in that they occupy a position which is subject to conflicting demands from above (their superior) and below (their workgroup)(Rosen, 1961). As Pelz (1951) has noted, successful (and thus satisfied) supervisors have influence through good relationships with their supervisors. Triandis (1960) found that lower-level managers differed from upper-level managers in stressing power and position and significant meanings they attached to job descriptions. The literature seems to suggest then, that in the United States, first-line supervisors are more satisfied the more effective they are, and that this effectiveness is linked to quality of interpersonal relationships and to formal power (in itself affected by the relationship between the supervisor and his superior).

England (1975) in his cross-national study of managers, found that all managers tended to be highly satisfied with their jobs, although American managers were more satisfied and Korean managers less satisfied than managers from India, Japan and Australia. Job satisfaction levels were positively associated with affective identification with the organisation.

Haire, Ghiselli and Porter (1963) also found a close similarity between managers from 14 countries concerning the importance attached to various motivational needs. Self actualisation was seen as most important followed by autonomy, security, social needs, and finally, esteem needs which were seen as least important. Whilst variations were exhibited between different countries with respect to the precise weighting of each need, the overall ranking tended to be consistent. The authors also asked the managers how much (of each need satisfaction) did they presently experience in their jobs, and how much of it should there be in their job.

Major differences were found between the managers from the different countries regarding their satisfactions with their jobs. The greatest similarity between them was that they all considered self-actualisation to be the least satisfied need. In general, the southern European managers (e.g. Spain, Italy) were most dissatisfied and Scandinavian managers were most satisfied. English and American managers were more satisfied on the lower-order needs (security and social needs) but less satisfied in regard to higher-order needs (autonomy and esteem) although Japanese managers were equally satisfied on all needs.

Haire, Ghiselli and Porter (1963) suggest that these complex differences in managerial need satisfaction result from socio-cultural factors, perhaps relating to the occupational status of the industrial manager in the various countries. However, no clear relationships are advanced between managerial values, especially concerning power, and managerial job satisfaction.

In the present study, it is expected that cultural differences between the supervisory groups will be manifested in differences between responses regarding particular levels of job satisfaction, and between overall levels of job satisfaction. It is held that social values underlie the various

dimensions of job satisfaction and that the differences in social values between the four cultural groups will be reflected in differences in levels of job satisfaction on those corresponding dimensions. In order to reduce cognitive dissonance, a supervisor will report a higher level of satisfaction on a dimension which he has earlier reported is more important to him, as a social value, a base of power, and a power strategy. The dimensions thus identified above relate to socio-emotional dimensions and to conformity. The Polynesian supervisors have been hypothesised to attach more importance to close relationship ties, and to the salience of the social environment in enforcing conformity. Consequently, it is hypothesised that Polynesian supervisors will express higher satisfaction on those dimensions pertaining to job satisfaction which concern relationships (i.e. with superior, and peers) and conformity (i.e. company policy).

Overall job satisfaction, as measured in England's (1975) study referred to above, is very difficult to explain adequately since it includes affective responses concerning all the dimensions which constitute the job. However, England's analysis of the positive relationship between overall job satisfaction and affective identification to the company may be used to predic supervisory overall satisfaction in the present study. Nedd and Marsh (1977), in a study of European, Maori and Pacific Island industrial workers, found that Pacific Islanders tended to have a higher level of commitment to the company and a stronger loyalty to remaining with the company, than did Maori and European workers. In addition, the Pacific Island workers had higher levels of overall job satisfaction than the other groups. It was suggested that these differences were a function of the need satisfaction experienced by the Pacific Islanders, who were also found to have needs for high earning: The lack of industrial exposure of the Pacific Islanders may be manifested

both in higher monetary need satisfaction (i.e. industrial wages are far higher than subsistence income in the Islands) and satisfactions relating to the organisational environment (e.g. working conditions, the work itself). Pacific Islanders may be more positively satisfied with the organisation because they do not have the experience of other factories with which to evaluate it.

In the present study, the Pacific Island supervisors will have had more industrial experience than the Pacific Island workers due to customary service requirements for appointment to supervisor. However, it is likely that the Pacific Island supervisors will report higher levels of overall job satisfaction than other groups, and if industrial experience is related to overall satisfaction, the higher experience of the Europeans will reduce their job satisfaction.

Hypothesis

Differences will be found between the cultural groups in their levels of job satisfaction. These differences will reflect differences in cultural values in the order of group 4, 3, 2, 1 where:-

(a) Group 4 will have highest satisfaction and group 1 least satisfaction with both relationships on the job and with organisational factors that facilitate the maintenance of these close working relationships.

(b) Group 4 will have highest and group 1 will have least overall job satisfaction.

ORGANISATIONAL FACTORS AND CONSTRUCTS OF POWER

The hypotheses generated above suggest that cultural differences are significantly related to a supervisor's orientation towards the exercising of power in the industrial situation. However, when testing the relationships between culture and power constructs, it is also necessary to test for those organisational factors which may also affect supervisory constructs of power, especially/since the research design for the present study necessarily produced variance in two important organisational variables, namely Position and (Company) organisation Climate.

There is substantial evidence in the literature to suggest that level in the organisational hierarchy is related to a variety of job-related attitudes and behaviors. Some of these studies have been reviewed above; for example, Porter and Henry (1964) found that at each higher level of management, increasing emphasis was placed on inner-directed personality traits. Fleishman (1953) showed that the higher the level of supervision, the more likely the supervisor considered that he should put emphasis on "Initiating Structure", rather than on "Consideration". Porter (1961) found that lower-middle management generally reported greater job satisfaction than did first-line supervisors. The two hierarchical levels represented in the present study are basically working supervisors and non-working supervisors. The former typically have job titles such as "chargehand" or "leading hand" and are expected to supervise by working closely with the workgroup performing substantially the same tasks as their fellow workers. However, they do have the range of authority characteristic of first-line supervisors, albeit under the superior authority of the non-working supervisor ("foreman", "supervisor"). The latter essentially has no responsibility to perform the tasks of his workers except in his function as trainer. He typically has less contact with the workers than does the working supervisor.

and may even be physically separated in an office away from the workgroup. To summarise, the working foreman generally has less formal authority than the non-working supervisor, but is closer (both physically and psychologically) to the workgroup. Thus differences in power constructs may arise from this difference in level although there appears to be no literature dealing with differences between these two closely-related levels of supervision in their job-related attitudes or behaviors.

Another organisational factor which may be expected to be a function of a supervisors' constructs of power is his age. Whilst it is difficult to find research which bears on the relationship of age to job-related attitudes Some research reported by Stogdill (1974) suggests that older supervisors might tend to be differenciated from younger supervisors in that the former prefer a more authoritarian and less participative style of supervision.

Associated with age is length of service, which refers to the amount of time the supervisor has worked for his present company. Obviously the older he is the longer he can potentially have remained in employment with a single company. However, the significance of length of service is that the longer the supervisor has served with a company, the more he may have internalised the values and characteristic attitudes of that company. Consequently, a further factor which may be related to supervisors' constructs of power is the particular company in which he works. The company itself has a strong socialising influence, not only in the general sense that any industrial organisation is a modernising influence (cf. Inkeles, 1974), but also in the specific sense that each company has its own set of formal rules and informal norms and values. The Organisation Climate is defined as "a multi-dimensional perception of the essential attributes or character of an organisational system" (Tagiuri and Litwin, 1968) which Taylor and Bowers (1974) suggest arises from the rules, norms and values of the

organisation as a whole, as perceived by the individual member.

In the present study, supervisors were drawn from five companies which, whilst they showed general characteristics of size, technology, and structure, were all independent (ie. of ownership) of each other and may thus have varied significantly in their Organisation Climate. These differences may have affected supervisors in the way they chose to supervise eg. in a "punitive" organisation supervisors may be expected (both by management and workers) to exercise very strict discipline, whilst in a "permissive" organization, the supervisors may have been exposed to a series of supervisory training programmes, which stressed the need for "good human relations" and "worker participation".

Data was collected pertaining to the following organisational factors:

(a) Position (ie. organisational level) of the supervisors.

(b) Length of service.

(c) Age.

(d) Company.

Hypothesis

There is a significant relationship between Cultural Group and each Supervisory Construct of Power once the effects of Position, Length of Service, Age, and Company are adjusted for.

PART III RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Research Design

The methodology chosen for the present study included the administration of two questionnaires and a psychological test. Whilst it is not possible in the confines of this thesis to discuss the wider philosophical issues implicit in the choosing of methodology in the Behavioral Sciences (Heather 1976) it is necessary at this stage to describe some of the specific problems of validity and reliability inherent in the use of such instruments. Phillips (1973) neatly summarises the main biases which can distort questionnaire data:

(a) Acquiescence bias i.e. the tendency of the respondent to agree (or disagree) with items independent of their content.

(b) Social desirability bias i.e. the tendency of the respondent to deny socially undesirable traits and to admit to socially desirable ones.

Maccoby & Maccoby (1954) suggest that 'where people are being interviewed or are filling out questionnaires directly concerning behavior about which there is a strong expectation of social approval or disapproval, and in which there is considerable ego-involvement, they tend to err in the direction of idealising their behavior'. In addition Rosenthal (1966) has produced considerable evidence concerning more subtle factors causing bias in psychological laboratory experiments, which are of relevance perhaps to the present study. Some of these biases were:

(a) experimenters' personality and expectations.

(b) subject's personality.

(c) subject's awareness of experimenter's intent.

(d) subject's concern at being evaluated.

Whilst it is not possible to be certain of eliminating all bias in questionnaire surveys the following precautions were observed in the present study:

(a) assuring annonymity to the subjects.

(b) emphasising the importance of honest answers.

(c) attempting to create rapport.

(d) stressing that there are no right or wrong answers.

It was also necessary in the present study to be aware of biases which may be constructed within the instruments used. These can included for example words, phrases, or questions which are ambiguous, not understood, or offensive. Other factors which were carefully considered were the overall layout of the questionnaires, the grouping of particular questions, and the method of subject response. Some of the questions used were checked for their validity using pilot study procedures, whilst others had already been validated through their use in a previous study (Nedd & Marsh 1977). It was decided to use a Likert-type semantic differential scale for many of the questions due to the impressive evidence of Osgood (1965) of its validity in cross-cultural studies.

The exploratory study which is the subject of this thesis was designed to provide some insights into a number of questions concerning constructs of supervisory power. In designing the research it was necessary however to balance the reality of the availability of research resources, access to research sites, and available time, with an ideal research design in order to arrive at a study which could in fact be successfully completed.

(a) Subjects

235 supervisors from five large industrial companies in the Auckland area (in New Zealand) completed the instruments. The companies were chosen because they were known to employ comparatively high numbers, albeit minorities, of British, Pacific Island, and Maori supervisors.

Subjects were all the supervisors who were available or who were willing to be questioned at meeting times which were pre-arranged with top management who also circulated a memorandum to all supervisors asking for their cooperation in the study. Supervisors were taken to include all non-working and working first-line supervisors in the plants; these had titles such as foreman, shift supervisor, chargehand, leading hand, etc.

Four cultural groups were designated:

Group 1 - Non-indigenous European supervisors ie. those supervisors who had been born in Britain and had emigrated to New Zealand. n = 41.

Group 2 - Indigenous European supervisors ie. those who had been born in New Zealand. n = 103.

Group 3 - Indigenous Polynesian supervisors ie. those who had been born in New Zealand. n = 31.

Group 4 - Non-indigenous Polynesian supervisors ie. those who had been born in the Pacific Islands. n = 43.

These groupings were chosen on the basis of support in the literature concerning the crucial effects or social values and social action related to childhood upbringing. Specific description of the various differences between the groups according to the environment in which they were born is given above (Chapter 1). On the basis of this grouping, seventeen supervisors were omitted from analysis because they were categorised differently; these were mostly immigrants from other European countries such as Holland and Germany.

The administration of the instruments was carried out during working time by the researcher aided by an associate. The instruments were all printed in English only and required the subjects to indicate answers mainly by circling a scale number or a choice of answer. Previous experience of the researcher and enquiries in the factories suggested that all Maoris would be fluent in English, and that most Pacific Islanders would also be fluent in English; particularly because English fluency and literacy are considered by most companies in Auckland as necessary qualifications for promotion to supervisory positions. However, Cook Island, Tongan, and Samoan translators (trained by the researcher) were also present during the data collection to assist subjects where necessary.

During the meeting, subjects were told that the study was being conducted by staff at the University to advance the knowledge of supervisory attitudes and job satisfaction. Assurance was given that each individual subjects' responses would be treated in confidence and that only generalised data would be reported on. Subjects were asked to complete the instruments without any talking or discussion with other subjects; this absence of communication was monitored by the researchers. These meetings with subjects (never more than 30 at once) did <u>not</u> have any representatives from higher management or any

other group present. Completed instruments were collected from each subject prior to his leaving the meeting and he was requested not to discuss the contents with other supervisors in the factory. The data-collection meetings were marked by an expression of interest and commitment on the part of the supervisors.

(b) Measures of Personality

(1) Cognitive Style. Field-Independence was measured by the scores derived from the Group Embedded Figures Test (GEFT). This was administered to the group meetings of subjects, preceded by a verbal reiteration of the written instructions which subjects are required to read prior to beginning the test. The test requires subjects to disembed a simple shape from a complex pattern and record the answer by crossing one of five possible answers for each of 32 trials. The trials are divided into two ten-minute periods when the subject can only work on 16 of the trials in each period. Since the test is relatively difficult, the group-form administration is thought to encourage through a group conformity effect (Asch, 1955) those subjects who might otherwise "give up" within the first few minutes.

Field independence scores are computed by scoring one point for each correct trial, but subtracting 0.2 of a point for each trial attempted but with an incorrect answer. This scoring principle is contained in the instructions and is designed to discourage random answers which could otherwise generate through chance a significant score.

(2) Intolerance of Ambiguity. Intolerance of Ambiguity was measured by an eight-item scale derived from Martin and Westie (1959) and reprinted in

Robinson and Shaver (1973). Each item is scored along a five-point agree-disagree continuum (Likert-type), and scoring is simply accomplished by summing across items. Slight changes in wording were made in several of the items in order to simplify words, reduce ambiguous meaning, or eliminate an American bias eg:

Original item 2 - "A person is either 100% American or he isn't".

Revised item 2 - "A person is either 100% supporter of his country or he isn't".

Original item 6 - "First impressions are very important".

Revised item 6 - "How you feel about a person the first time you meet him is very important".

(c) Measures of Social Values

Social Values was measured by 45 items which were either adapted from conventional measures (Inkeles & Smith, 1974) or generated by the researcher and his associates to relate to a wide variety of dichotomous values identified in the literature (see Part I above). The items had all been previously tested in a study involving industrial workers with the same range of ethnicity as the present subjects and had been found to be meaningful to them, although analysis of the worker data was not available at the time of design of the present study. Thus, while items had been designed to measure such dimensions of social values as Self versus Collective Orientation, High versus Low-Kin Dependence, Personal Efficacy versus Fatalism, it was not known what meanings had been attached to the items by the subjects. These meanings can only be ascertained in cross-cultural research by analysing which items factor together (ie. in the present study -- discriminant functions) because the researcher is attempting to discover how the cultural group perceive their world

through their social values, rather than impose his own culturally-determined interpretation on their choice of responses by imposing pre-established scales.

Each item had two possible responses and the subject was asked to circle the one he choose. If he said that he agreed with both responses or with neither response, he was requested to choose the response which was slightly more favourable to him. Examples of items are:

What gets good work done?

(a) friendship and cooperation of people in a group,

or (b) how hard each person in the group works.

Do you think it is more important for a boy

(a) to know the Bible?

or (b) to know how to repair machines?

Which of these statements do you agree with more?

(a) getting promoted depends on what jobs happen to open up at work.

or (b) getting promoted depends on working hard.

(d) Measures of Socio-Economic-Status

Four measures were chosen to be of greatest significance in differentiating the four groups according to their levels of socio-economic status (see Part II). Single questions relating to these measures were generated with reference to the literature (eg. Inkeles & Smith 1974) These were:

Father's Occupation - Item "What work does your father do? (If your father is retired or dead, What was his last occupation or job?)".

Responses to this item were subjected to content analysis into three groups: "Primary" eg. farmer, miner.

"Secondary" eg. factory.

"Tertiary" eg. clerical or professional.

Primary occupations were viewed as lowest, and tertiary occupations as highest in socio-economic status.

Own Schooling - Item "What was the highest level of schooling you reached? 1) Primary School, 2) High School, 3) Technical Institute or Trade School, 4) Teachers' Training College, 5) University ".

Responses to this item were categorised as:

"Primary" - response 1.

"High" - response 2.

"Post-high" - responses 3, 4, 5.

"Primary" schooling was considered lowest in status and "post-high" was considered highest in socio-economic status.

Industrial Experience - Item "How long (altogether) have you worked in factories?"

Responses to this item were in years; socio-economic status was considered to be positively related to the number of years.

Size of Family - Item "When you were growing up, what was the highest amount of people who lived in your household at any time?"

Socio-Economic status was considered to be positively related to the size of household.

(e) Measures of Work Goals

In the present study, the work goals to which a supervisor orients his action were chosen from the organisation behavior literature to broadly represent both "task goals" (ie. those pertaining to material outputs) and "socio-emotional goals" (ie. those pertaining to socio-emotional outputs). Subjects were asked to rank, in order of importance to them, seven goals which were presented to them as "things that most supervisors try to do". The rank order procedure was chosen as a "forced choice" method in that it

was felt that because all goals were presented as being important, the supervisors would have responded with equally high scores for each goal if Li kert scales had been used.

(f) Measures of Power

(1) Power Base (orientation). This aspect of power base refers to the resources of power that the supervisor perceives that he possesses, that is, the resources which he perceives may be used to get workers to comply with his demands in the working situation. Items were generated to represent each of the five bases of power suggested by French and Raven (1959) as Reward, Punishment, Legitimate, Expert, and Referent. Examples of these items are:

"To what extent do you feel your workers do what you tell them to do simply because you are the boss?" (legitimate)

"To what extent do your workers do what you want them to do because they feel you will reward them if they cooperate with you?" (reward)

Scoring of these items was based on a Likert-type scale ranging from "to a very little extent" (1), to "to a very great extent" (5).

(2) Power Base (range). This aspect of power base refers to the range of the supervisors' socio-emotional influence over his workers to the extent that he is an influence outside of the workplace (Cartwright, 1965). Sample items are:

"To what extent do you get together socially with your workers?"

"To what extent are your workers either related to you or are your close personal friends?"

Items were scored using the simple Likert scale as in the power base (orientation) questions.

(3) Power Strategies. Power strategies refer to those specific methods or approaches which supervisors report that they use to achieve the compliance of workers to their orders or instructions. As has been described in the discussion of power strategies above (Part II), both Fiedler's (1967) three dimensions of power, and Etzioni's (1961) three-way typology of power means were used as models for the generation of items. Since neither of these models have apparently been used before in the generation of power strategy items, it was decided to generate several items to represent each of the six strategies of power. Items were thus generated to relate to Fiedler's dimensions of Leader-Member Relations, Position Power Aggrandisement, and Task Structure. Sample items are:

"To what extent do you try to get your workers to feel that you really care about them?" (leader-member relations)

"To what extent do you insist that your workers take their lunch and tea breaks promptly and at fixed times?" (task structure)

Items were scored individually using a Likert scale ranging from "To a very little extent" (1), to "To a very great extent" (5).

Items were also generated to relate to Etzioni's typology of Coercive, Remunerative, and Normative means of power. However, in this case, items were developed which presented the supervisor with a problem situation in his department in which he is given a choice of three strategies to achieve the compliance of his workers: A sample item is:

"Suppose your workers are producing much less work than other workers doing similar work, which of these would you do to get more production out of your workers? Circle only one answer.

(a) "Warn them that some people will have to be fired unless things improve". (ie. Coercive)

(b) "Show them that they are losing bonus and other benefits by working so slowly". (ie. Remunerative)

(c) "Tell them it is their duty to earn their pay by doing a fair day's work". (ie. Normative).

(g) Measures of Effectiveness

Supervisory effectiveness was held in the present study to consist of the supervisors' perception of the extent to which he was successful in achieving each of the seven work goals on which he was questioned earlier in the instrument. Sample items were:

"To what extent are you successful in making your workers happy with their jobs?"

"To what extent are you successful in getting high quality work from your workers?"

It was considered that since the subjects had already ranked the goals in order of importance then they would be likely to attribute their own differential levels of effectiveness in relation to their earlier ranking of importance, rather than attributing to themselves equally maximum effectiveness for all goals.

Items were scored using a similar Likert-type five-point scale as was used in other sections of the instrument.

(h) Measures of Satisfaction

The Measures of Job Satisfaction in the present study consisted of ten items designed to relate to satisfaction on a variety of dimensions suggested by Herzberg (1966) to include all significant aspects of the job. These are:

Company Policy and Administration.

Relationship with Superior.

Relationship with other Supervisors.

Pay.

Working Conditions.

Advancement.

Responsibility.

Achievement.

Work Itself.

Job Suitability.

A sample item is "How satisfied are you with the amount of responsibility in your job?" Each item was scored on a Likert scale from Not satisfied (1), to Extremely satisfied (5). In addition, an item was designed to measure overall job satisfaction: "All in all, how satisfied are you with your job?" This item was scored in the same way as the other satisfaction items.

(i) Data Analysis

It has been convincingly argued that cross-cultural psychology can be considered as a "methodological strategy, as a means of evaluating hypotheses of unicultural origin with evidence of more pan-human relevance, and as a means of developing new theoretical accounts of psychological phenomena which profit from a broad sampling of human population" (Malpass, 1978). However, one of the major difficulties is that the researcher from one culture working in other cultures foreign to him is to some extent ignorant of the ways of thinking of subjects from the other cultures. This ignorance can cause interpretations of subjects' attitudes and behavior to be falsely made within the cultural set of attitudes of behavior of the researcher. It has been demonstrated that this problem exists even between classes within a culture (eg. Langner and Michael, 1963) in which persons from one class fail to accurately interpret attitudes in another class. The work of Triandis and his associates

(eg. 1972) has emphasised the need to "get inside the subject's head" in cross-cultural psychology; Malpass (1978) points out that this is the fundamental aim of all psychological research since the identification of behavioral differences or other outcomes is of limited scientific significance unless we can explain, with reference to the subject's cognitive and emotive processes, why he behaves that way. Thus research design in cross-cultural research is not a "different" design, but must be sufficiently rigorous to avoid the additional difficulties of explaining cultural differences which may fall outside of the variations identified within ones own culture.

In the present study, the researcher is faced on the one hand with research literature dealing with the ways in which power and leadership are perceived and practiced in industry in primarily western settings, and on the other hand, literature which suggests that the constructs of power, authority, and social relationships generally differ substantially in what have been described as traditional cultures (ie. Polynesian). This literature suggests that it may be inappropriate to explore cross-cultural differences in supervisory behavior by imposing models of leadership which are based on "modern" social values in substantial conflict with the "traditional" social values of the Polynesian cultures. Consequently, the research strategy in the present study has been to carry out an exploratory survey of such cultural differences and consequently to use techniques of instrument design and data analysis which emphasise:

(i) demonstrating that the groups can be validly considered culturally different.

(ii) identifying the dimensions of attitudes and behavior on which the identical cultural groups differ.

(iii) seeking to explain why those differences should exist, especially

to explain the personality antecedents which cause differences in orientations to action.

(iv) seeking to demonstrate the interrelationships between the explanatory variables.

With these principles in mind, the researcher chose statistical procedures from the ever-increasing range of techniques now available to social scientists. The main procedures used in the present study are:

(1) Discriminant Analysis. Discriminant analysis is a technique designed "to statistically distinguish between two or more cases" (Nie et al, 1975). It requires the researcher to select "a collection of discriminating variables that measure characteristics on which the groups are expected to differ" (p. 435) and from these, the analysis selects those which combine in functions that maximally differentiate the groups. The analysis also tests the significance of these functions in terms of their ability to explain variance between the groups. Function scores are developed by multiplying the coefficient of the discriminant functions by the raw score for each response.

It is interesting to note that one of the persons who developed discriminant analysis was an anthropologist whose primary interest was to classify Indian castes and tribes (Mahalanobis, 1930, cited in Snedecor and Cochran, 1967, p. 414).

(2) T-Test of Significance. This technique enables the group means of a sample drawn from a population for any given variable to be statistically compared in order to determine whether a "true" difference (ie. a significant difference which cannot be explained by chance) exists between the means. Thus the T-Test enables hypotheses to be tested pertaining to discriminant function scores as well as other variables.

(3) Correlation Coefficient. Correlation analysis measures the degree to which variation in one variable is related to variation in another variable and thus enables the testing of hypotheses concerning either positive or negative associations between variables. As with T-Tests, a level of probability is computed which demonstrates the likelihood of the association occurring by chance. A significant correlation is normally held to be one which could have occurred by chance not more than five times out of 100 (ie. .05 level of probability).

(4) Analysis of Variance. Analysis of Variance is a technique of analysing the linear relationship between a dependent variable and a set of independent variables while taking into account the interrelationship among the independent variables. It is similar to Multiple Regression but whereas only metric independent variables can be tested in Multiple Regression, the effects of both metric independent variables ("co-variates") and non-metric independent variables ("factors") can be tested by Analysis of Variance. Analysis of Variance measures the linear effect of each independent variable on the (single) dependent variable while holding constant the linear effects of all other independent variables, whether they are factors or co-variates. The test statistic (F Ratio) is the ratio between the sum of squares explained by the entire regression equation and the unexplained sum of squares. The test of significance is that F could have occurred by chance not more than five times in 100 trials (ie. 0.05 level of probability).

(5) Chi Square. Chi-Square is a test of the systematic relationship between two variables. "This is done by computing the cell frequencies which would be expected if no relationship is present between the variables given the existing row and column totals. The expected cell frequencies are then

compared to the actual values found in the table" (Nie et al, 1975). The size of Chi-Square represents the difference between expected and actual cell frequencies, but the significance of Chi-Square depends on the number of cells in the table. A level of significance of less than 0.05 is assumed to indicate that the variables measured are statistically independent.

All statistical tests were carried out by converting the data to punched cards and utilising the relevant sub-programs (ie. DISCRIMINANT; T-TEST; PEARSON CORRELATION; CROSSTABS; ANOVA) within the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (S.P.S.S. 2nd Edition, Nie et al, 1975).

Summary of Hypotheses

Differences will be found between the cultural groups in their levels of socio-economic status in the order of group 4, 3, 2, 1 where group 4 will have low socio-economic status (as measured by low education, low industrial experience, large family size, and low father's occupation) and group 1 will have high socio-economic status (as measured by high education, high industrial experience, small family size, and high father's occupation):-

(a) educational level

(b) experience in industry

(c) size of family

(d) father's occupation

Differences will be found between the cultural groups in their attachment to values characteristic of social traditionalism. These differences will be in the order of group 4, 3, 2, 1, where group 4 will have highest and group 1 lowest attachment to social traditionalism.

Differences will be found between the cultural groups in their levels of field independence. These differences will be in the order of groups 1, 2, 3, 4 where group 1 will be highest and group 4 lowest in field independence.

Differences will be found between the cultural groups in their levels of tolerance of ambiguity. These differences will be in the order of groups 1, 2, 3, 4 where group 1 will be most tolerant and group 4 least tolerant of ambiguity.

Field independence and Tolerance of Ambiguity will be positively correlated.

Differences will be found between the cultural groups in their attachment to work goals. These differences will reflect differences in cultural values in the order of groups 4, 3, 2, 1 where:

(a) Group 4 will be most attached and group 1 least attached to "people goals".

(b) Group 4 will be least attached and group 1 most attached to "task goals".

Differences will be found between the cultural groups in their bases of power. These differences will reflect differences in cultural values in the order of group 4, 3, 2, 1 where:

(a) group 4 will have highest attachment and group 1 least attachment to a 'referent' base of power.

(b) group 4 will have highest attachment and group 1 least attachment to a 'coercive' base of power.

Differences will be found between the cultural groups in their strategies of power. These differences will reflect differences in cultural values in the order of group 4, 3, 2, 1 where group 4 will have highest attachment and group 1 least attachment to a power strategy involving both close personal relationships and close surveillance of their workers.

Differences will be found between the cultural groups in their perceptions of their own effectiveness. These differences will reflect differences in cultural values in the order of group 4, 3, 2, 1 where:-

(a) Group 4 will perceive themselves to be most effective and group 1 will perceive themselves as least effective in achieving "people-goals".

(b) Group 4 will perceive themselves to be least effective and group 1 will perceive themselves as most effective in achieving "task-goals".

Differences will be found between the cultural groups in their levels of job satisfaction. These differences will reflect differences in cultural values in the order of group 4, 3, 2, 1 where:-

(a) Group 4 will have highest satisfaction and group 1 least satisfaction with both relationships on the job and with organisational factors that facilitate the maintenance of these close working relationships.

(b) Group 4 will have highest and group 1 will have least overall job satisfaction.

There is a significant relationship between cultural group and each supervisory construct of power once the effects of Position, Length of Service, Age, and Company are adjusted for.

1. CULTURE, PERSONALITY, AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

(a) Socio-Economic Status

Hypothesis

Differences will be found between the cultural groups in their levels of socio-economic status in the order of group 4, 3, 2, 1 where group 4 will have low socio-economic status (as measured by low education, low industrial experience, large family size, and low father's occupation) and group 1 will have high socio-economic status (as measured by high education, high industrial experience, small family size, and high father's occupation):-

(a) educational level

(b) experience in industry

(c) size of family

(d) father's occupation

(i) Fathers' Occupation. Table 1 presents the results of T-Test analysis of group means with L.S.D. (MOD) summary of group differences at the 0.5 level of significance for Fathers' Occupation.

The results show that only three of the six expected differences between groups are supported at the 0.05 level of significance. There are no significant differences in Fathers' Occupational Status between groups 1 and 2, between groups 3 and 4, or between groups 2 and 4. However, the mean scores indicate that the rank ordering is as expected, except for group 4. Group 1 has the highest level of Fathers' Occupation and group 3 has the lowest level (the order is group 1, 2, 4, 3). What is surprising is that group 4 (Pacific Islanders) have such a comparatively high level of Fathers' Occupational Status, which suggests a higher pattern of upward occupational mobility than is the

pattern in the islands. Perhaps the position of supervisor may attract persons high in S.E.S. (in terms of father's occupation) within Polynesian society whilst it attracts persons lower in S.E.S. within European society.

(ii) Education. Table 2 presents the results of T-Test analysis of differences between the cultural groups in levels of education.

T-Test analysis reveals that four of the six expected differences between the groups are confirmed (at 0.45 level of significance or higher) but that differences were not confirmed between groups 1 and 2, or between groups 2 and 3. Group 1 is shown to have the highest level of education and group 4 to have the lowest level of education (the order is group 1, 2, 3, 4).

(iii) Factory Experience. Table 3 presents the results of T-Test analysis of differences between the cultural groups in factory experience (ie. number of years worked in factories).

The analysis shows that four of the six expected differences between the groups are supported (at the 0.038 level of significance or higher), but that no significant difference was found between groups 1 and 2, or between groups 3 and 4.

Group 1 has the highest number of years experience in factories, and group 3 has the least experience (rank order is group 1, 2, 4, 3).

(iv) Household Size. Once again, a T-Test analysis was performed to ascertain differences between cultural groups in the size of household (ie. when the subject was growing up). (See Table 4)

The analysis shows that five of the expected differences between the groups are confirmed (at 0.017 level of significance or higher); and it is only the difference between groups 3 and 4 which is not significant.

Group 3 has the highest level of household size and group 1 has the lowest level (the order is groups 3, 4, 2, 1).

Table 1

T-Test - Fathers' Occupation

	No. of Cases	Mean	Standard Deviation	Standard Error	T-Value	Deg. of Freedom	2-Tail Probability
Grp 1	38	2.1053	0.6058	0.0983	1.57	74.6	0.121
Grp 2	97	1.9175	0.6719	0.0682			
Grp 3	29	1.5862	0.5012	0.0931	-1.04	60.8	0.302
Grp 4	35	1.7429	0.7005	0.1184			
Grp 1	38	2.1053	0.6058	0.0983	3.83	64.5	0.000
Grp 3	29	1.5862	0.5012	0.0931			
Grp 1	38	2.1053	0.6058	0.0983	2.35	67.5	0.021
Grp 4	35	1.7429	0.7005	0.1184			
Grp 2	97	1.9175	0.6719	0.0682	2.87	61.0	0.006
Grp 3	29	1.5862	0.5012	0.0931			
Grp 2	97	1.9175	0.6719	0.0682	1.28	58.1	0.206
Grp 4	35	1.7429	0.7005	0.1184			

MULTIPLE RANGE TEST (0.05 level)

Fathers' Occupation

Subset 1

Group	Group 3	Group 4
Mean	1.5862	1.7429

Subset 2

Group	Group 4	Group 2
Mean	1.7429	1.9175

Subset 3

Group	Group 2	Group 1
Mean	1.9175	2.1053

Table 2

T-Test - Education

	No. of Cases	Mean	Standard Deviation	Standard Error	T-Value	Deg. of Freedom	2-Tail Probability
Grp 1	41	2.2683	0.7424	0.1159	1.26	58.9	0.213
Grp 2	103	2.1068	0.5586	0.0550			
Grp 3	31	1.9677	0.4069	0.0731	2.04	71.3	0.045
Grp 4	43	1.7209	0.6296	0.0960			
Grp 1	41	2.2683	0.7424	0.1159	2.19	64.5	0.032
Grp 3	31	1.9677	0.4069	0.0731			
Grp 1	41	2.2683	0.7424	0.1159	3.64	78.5	0.000
Grp 4	43	1.7209	0.6296	0.0960			
Grp 2	103	2.1068	0.5586	0.0550	1.52	67.3	0.133
Grp 3	31	1.9677	0.4069	0.0731			
Grp 2	103	2.1068	0.5586	0.0550	3.49	71.0	0.001
Grp 4	43	1.7209	0.6296	0.0960			

MULTIPLE RANGE TEST (0.05 level)

Education

Subset 1

Group	Group 4	Group 3
Mean	1.7209	1.9677

Subset 2

Group	Group 3	Group 2
Mean	1.9677	2.1068

Subset 3

Group	Group 2	Group 1
Mean	2.1068	2.2683

Table 3

T-Test - Industrial Experience (Years)

	No. of Cases	Mean	Standard Deviation	Standard Error	T-Value	Deg. of Freedom	2-Tail Probability
Grp 1	41	18.2683	10.455	1.633	1.76	69.26	0.083
Grp 2	103	14.9320	9.754	0.961			
Grp 3	30	9.8000	5.904	1.078	-1.27	69.93	0.210
Grp 4	43	11.7907	7.517	1.146			
Grp 1	41	18.2683	10.455	1.633	4.33	65.34	0.000
Grp 3	30	9.8000	5.904	1.078			
Grp 1	41	18.2683	10.455	1.633	3.25	72.40	0.002
Grp 4	43	11.7907	7.517	1.146			
Grp 2	103	14.9320	9.754	0.961	3.55	79.21	0.001
Grp 3	30	9.8000	5.904	1.078			
Grp 2	103	14.9320	9.754	0.961	2.10	101.21	0.038
Grp 4	43	11.7907	7.517	1.146			

MULTIPLE RANGE TEST (0.05 level)

Industrial Experience

Subset 1

Group	Group 3	Group 4
Mean	9.8000	11.7907

Subset 2

Group	Group 4	Group 2
Mean	11.7907	14.9320

Subset 3

Group	Group 1
Mean	18.2683

Table 4

T-Test - Household Size

	No. of Cases	Mean	Standard Deviation	Standard Error	T-Value	Deg. of Freedom	2-Tail Probability
Grp 1	41	5.7317	1.5973	0.2494	-2.43	115.7	0.017
Grp 2	101	6.5941	2.5423	0.2530			
Grp 3	31	9.1290	3.9390	0.7075	0.63	61.2	0.531
Grp 4	41	8.5610	3.5780	0.5588			
Grp 1	41	5.7317	1.5973	0.2494	-4.53	37.5	0.000
Grp 3	31	9.1290	3.9390	0.7075			
Grp 1	41	5.7317	1.5973	0.2494	-4.62	55.3	0.000
Grp 4	41	8.5610	3.5780	0.5588			
Grp 2	101	6.5941	2.5423	0.2530	-3.37	38.0	0.002
Grp 3	31	9.1290	3.9390	0.7075			
Grp 2	101	6.5941	2.5423	0.2530	-3.21	57.1	0.002
Grp 4	41	8.5610	3.5780	0.5588			

MULTIPLE RANGE TEST (0.05 level)

Household Size

Subset 1

Group	Group 1	Group 2
Mean	5.7317	6.5941

Subset 2

Group	Group 4	Group 3
Mean	8.5610	9.1290

Discussion

It was hypothesised that the four cultural groups would differ in levels of socio-economic status as measured by Education, Fathers' Occupation, Factory Experience, and Household size. The results, however, generally suggest that the significant differences are primarily between groups 1 and 2 (European), and groups 3 and 4 (Polynesian), but that within each of these two categories, the differences are less significant.

It was further expected that Europeans would be associated with higher socio-economic status than Polynesians. This expectation has been largely confirmed by the data concerning Europeans as follows:

a) Higher educational levels.

b) Higher levels of factory experience.

c) Smaller household size.

d) Higher occupational status of father.

It is only in the case of education that significant differences were not found between Europeans and Polynesian levels and this may be attributed to the similar exposure of both Maoris and Pakehas to the same compulsory school system in which school-learning age is controlled by law, even though higher levels of educational attainment (above secondary school) remain dependent on individual achievement.

Analysis of factory experience showed that Pacific Islanders had spent more years in factories than had Maoris. This result was unexpected and indicates that those Pacific Islanders who are presently in supervisory positions have in fact been living in New Zealand for fairly long periods of time. Analysis of data pertaining to the number of years British and Pacific Islander immigrants had lived in New Zealand supports this view:

		Mean
Group 1 (British)	years in New Zealand	10.37
Group 4 (P.I.)	years in New Zealand	12.80

There is, in fact, no significant difference in average number of years spent in New Zealand between groups 1 and 4. Comparison of 'number of years in New Zealand' with 'factory experience' shows that, as expected, all of the Pacific Islanders factory experience was in New Zealand, whilst for the British, almost eight years of their factory life was experienced outside New Zealand (ie. in Britain mainly).

The data concerning S.E.S. shows that Pacific Islanders were raised (socialised) within a pattern of lower socio-economic status (eg. education, household size, fathers' occupation) but they have been exposed to the modernising influence (eg. factory experience, urban living) of living in New Zealand for a substantial part of their adult life.

(b) Personality

Hypotheses

Differences will be found between the cultural groups in their levels of field independence. These differences will be in the order of groups 1, 2, 3, 4 where group 1 will be highest and group 4 lowest in field independence.

Differences will be found between the cultural groups in their levels of tolerance of ambiguity. These differences will be in the order of groups 1, 2, 3, 4 where group 1 will be most tolerant and group 4 least tolerant of ambiguity.

Field independence and Tolerance of Ambiguity will be positively correlated.

Personality.

Table 5 shows that four out of the six predicted differences between the means were significant at the 0.05 level or better. Whilst the rank order of field independence scores is as predicted (ie. groups 1, 2, 3, 4), there was not a significant difference found between groups 3 and 4, or between groups 2 and 3. However, in the case of groups 3 and 4, it should be noted that one subject in group 4 had the quite high score of 11 which was very much higher than all other scores in that group and thus had the effect of decreasing the level of significance substantially. It is interesting to note that this same subject although born in the Pacific Islands, was the only subject to have spent his childhood in Auckland (New Zealand) and in consequence may have been affected by a different pattern of child-rearing than the other subjects in group 4.

The lack of a significant difference in the field independence scores of group 2 and group 3 supports Chapman's (1974) findings in which Maori schoolboys had lower (non-significant) scores than did Pakeha schoolboys. It should be noted that Chapman used the Portable Rod and Frame Test rather than the GEFT test in the present study and so this result also suggests positive correspondence between the two tests of Cognitive Style.

Table 5 indicates the three subsets of groups which are significantly different (at 0.05 level) in their Field Independence.

Table 6 presents the T-Test results pertaining to Tolerance of Ambiguity; once again four of the predicted differences between group means are supported but the pattern of differences contrasts markedly with the GEFT group differences. Table 6 shows that groups 1 and 2 (Europeans) and groups 3 and 4 (Polynesians) form two subsets which are very different in Tolerance of Ambiguity between the subsets, but very similar within each subset. The predicted

Table 5

T-Test - Cognitive Style

	No. of Cases	Mean	Standard Deviation	Standard Error	T-Value	Deg. of Freedom	2-Tail Probability
Grp 1	40	9.4250	6.489	1.026	2.33	61.26	0.023
Grp 2	92	6.7304	5.144	0.536			
Grp 3	26	5.7923	3.997	0.784	1.77	51.78	0.082
Grp 4	30	3.9467	3.758	0.686			
Grp 1	40	9.4250	6.489	1.026	2.81	63.87	0.007
Grp 3	26	5.7923	3.997	0.784			
Grp 1	40	9.4250	6.489	1.026	4.44	64.37	0.000
Grp 4	30	3.9467	3.758	0.686			
Grp 2	92	6.7304	5.144	0.536	0.99	50.82	0.328
Grp 3	26	5.7923	3.997	0.784			
Grp 2	92	6.7304	5.144	0.536	3.20	67.26	0.002
Grp 4	30	3.9467	3.758	0.686			

MULTIPLE RANGE TEST (0.05 level)

Cognitive Style

Subset 1

Group	Group 4	Group 3
Mean	3.9467	5.7923

Subset 2

Group	Group 3	Group 2
Mean	5.7923	6.7304

Subset 3

Group	Group 1
Mean	9.4250

Homogenous subsets (ie. subsets of groups whose highest and lowest means do not differ by more than the shortest significant range for a subset of that size).

Table 6

T-Test - Tolerance of Ambiguity

	No. of Cases	Mean	Standard Deviation	Standard Error	T-Value	Deg. of Freedom	2-Tail Probability
Grp 1	41	25.2927	5.226	0.816	1.01	75.56	0.316
Grp 2	103	24.3107	5.378	0.530			
Grp 3	31	18.6129	5.518	0.991	-0.91	67.35	0.365
Grp 4	43	19.8372	5.924	0.903			
Grp 1	41	25.2927	5.226	0.816	5.20	62.82	0.000
Grp 3	31	18.6129	5.518	0.991			
Grp 1	41	25.2927	5.226	0.816	4.48	81.52	0.000
Grp 4	43	19.8372	5.924	0.903			
Grp 2	103	24.3107	5.378	0.530	5.07	48.44	0.000
Grp 3	31	18.6129	5.518	0.991			
Grp 2	103	24.3107	5.378	0.530	4.27	72.35	0.000
Grp 4	43	19.8372	5.924	0.903			

MULTIPLE RANGE TEST (0.05 level)

Tolerance of Ambiguity

Subset 1

Group	Group 3	Group 4
Mean	18.6129	19.8372

Subset 2

Group	Group 2	Group 1
Mean	24.3107	25.2927

rank order of group means is not supported, in that group 3 (Maoris) have a slightly lower Tolerance of Ambiguity than group 4 (Pacific Islanders), although group 1 does have a higher Tolerance for Ambiguity than group 2, as was predicted.

It was also hypothesised that Tolerance for Ambiguity and Field Independence would be positively correlated and Table 7 shows that this hypothesis is supported at the .001 level.

Table 7

Correlation of GEFT and Tolerance of Ambiguity

	GEFT	
Tolerance of Ambiguity	0.2303	(Significance = 0.001)
		n = 203

Discussion

The analysis of personality differences between the four cultural groups has shown strong support for the predicted differences in GEFT. The lack of a significant difference between groups 2 and 3 suggests that the social and ecological environment in New Zealand may reduce the effects of differences in child-rearing and social values between Pakehas and Maoris as described in Part I above. It is suggested that further study of the antecedents of these GEFT scores in the two groups would be useful.

The differences between the cultural groups in Tolerance for Ambiguity is interesting in that a Polynesian/European significant difference has been demonstrated. Tolerance of Ambiguity relates to the need to impose a simple and pre-determined bi-polar set onto one's life experience. The intolerant person therefore sees events, issues, and people in "black or white" terms

in order to avoid confronting the conflicting "grey areas" of his own subconscious world. While the literature suggested that child-rearing was the critical antecedent of Tolerance of Ambiguity, the antecedents of GEFT were shown to be more varied, including ecology, education, and economic system. Therefore, it is tentatively suggested that the weak correlation between GEFT and Tolerance of Ambiguity represents the fact that while both measures relate to child-rearing, GEFT includes other effects such as ecology and social structure

(c) Social Values

Hypothesis

Differences will be found between the cultural groups in their attachment to values characteristic of social traditionalism. These differences will be in the order of group 4, 3, 2, 1, where group 4 will have highest and group 1 lowest attachment to social traditionalism.

The social values items were subjected to discriminant analysis from which nine items were chosen to represent three discriminant functions; however, one of the functions was not significant (at 0.05 level) and was discarded. The discriminant analysis provides several measures of the significance of a discriminant function; the eigenvalues and their associated canonical correlations indicate the relative ability of each function to separate the groups. The size of Wilks Lambda shows the amount of discriminating power in the variables being used, from which a Chi-Square test of significance is computed. The Discriminant Program also provides an analysis of the ability of the functions to correctly classify the "known" groups (presented in percentage form).

In Appendix 1, the first function is highly significant at the 0.000 level,

whilst the second function is less significant at the 0.017 level. Appendix 1 shows the standardised coefficients of each variable which contributes to a function; the higher the level of the coefficient the higher its contribution to the function. Each item response was previously coded by the researcher as being either "modern (2)", or "traditional (1)"; the sign of the coefficient is not significant except in cases where a variable within a coefficient has a different sign compared to the other variables. This indicates that it is a "suppressor variable" and thus it is acting in the opposite way (eg. a "traditional" response on one item is associated with "modern" responses on other items within the function).

In the case of social values, the first function seems to identify a dichotomy between attachment to social conformity versus self-assertion. The first item refers to obligation to assist extended family whilst the second strongest item refers to traditional religious conformity. The other two items refer to social group conformity in the workplace; they seem to emphasise the security of "sticking-together" with ones immediate social group, which traditionally is also ones kinship group and religious group. The modern dimension on the other hand emphasises lack of obligation to kin group, and concern for technical skills, job training, and changes in the job. The Social Conformity-Self Assertion function is summarised in Table 8 below:

Table 8

Function 1. Conformity versus Self-Assertion

	Conformity	Self-Assertion
Item 1. (Q 72)	Obligation to financially help extended family.	No obligation to financially help extended family.
Item 2. (Q 41)	A boy should know the Bible.	A boy should know how to repair machines.
Item 3. (Q 68)	You do well at work by sticking together to make sure you are treated fairly.	You do well at work by getting the best possible training for your job.
Item 4. (Q 38)	Preference for a job that stays the same from year to year.	Preferenee for a job that changes from time to time.

Scores for this function are computed by multiplying the unstandardised function coefficients by the raw scores; T-Tests of the group means for the function are presented in Table 10.

Table 9

Function 2. Personal Efficacy versus Fatalism

	Personal Efficacy	Fatalism
Item 1. (Q 70)	It is a good thing to share your ideas about change.	Talking about change wastes time and does not help the situation.
Item 2. (Q 54)	Preference for making decisions myself.	Preferences for others to make the decisions.
Item 3. (Q 61)	People don't do well because they did not use the chances that came their way.	People don't do well because the chances don't come their way.
Item 4. (Q 60)	Having good friends at work depends on how well you treat the people you work with.	Having good friends at work depends on being in a department with nice people.

Table 10

T-Test - Social Values (Conformity)

	No. of Cases	Mean	Standard Deviation	Standard Error	T-Value	Deg. of Freedom	2-Tail Probability
Grp 1	41	-0.1971	0.735	0.115	1.41	68.67	0.163
Grp 2	103	-0.3843	0.678	0.067			
Grp 3	31	0.0840	0.869	0.156	-5.72	70.12	0.000
Grp 4	43	1.3488	1.028	0.157			
Grp 1	41	-0.1971	0.735	0.115	-1.45	58.40	0.152
Grp 3	31	0.0840	0.869	0.156			
Grp 1	41	-0.1971	0.735	0.115	-7.96	76.10	0.000
Grp 4	43	1.3488	1.028	0.157			
Grp 2	103	-0.3843	0.678	0.067	-2.76	41.61	0.009
Grp 3	31	0.0840	0.869	0.156			
Grp 2	103	-0.3843	0.678	0.067	-10.17	57.86	0.000
Grp 4	43	1.3488	1.028	0.157			

MULTIPLE RANGE TEST (0.05 level)

Social Values (Conformity)

Subset 1

Group	Group 2	Group 1
Mean	-0.3843	-0.1971

Subset 2

Group	Group 1	Group 3
Mean	-0.1971	-0.0840

Subset 3

Group	Group 4
Mean	1.3488

The results show that the hypothesised differences between the groups are supported in four of the six comparisons of group means; significant differences were not found between groups 1 and 2, and between groups 1 and 3. The mean scores show that group 4 is most attached to social conformity, followed by groups 3, 1, and 2, which is most attached to self-assertion. Thus the hypothesised order of attachment to modern values (ie. groups 1, 2, 3, 4) is partly supported although group 1 is less "modern" on this social value than might have been expected.

The second function pertaining to differences between the groups on social values is presented in Table 9 .

This is a weaker function than Conformity-Self Assertion but the four items in the function are suggestive of a dimension of Personal Efficacy versus Fatalism. The first item concerns notions of being able to change ones environment (ie. using change to improve apple-growing) whilst the third and fourth items respectively concern feelings of control over ones achievements in life and feelings of efficacy in determining ones social relationships. The second item is more difficult to interpret because its sign is in the opposite direction to the others and consequently, the "modern" response must be classified with the "traditional" responses to the other items. This difficulty is increased by the ambiguity of meaning of the item in terms of interpreting it to refer to a workgroup (involving the respondent as supervisor using participative or autocratic decision methods?) or to refer to a social group (where the respondent is conforming to others?).

In this case, however, the clearer meaning of items 1, 3 and 4 is used to justify the interpretation of the dimensions as Personal Efficacy-Fatalism,

Table 11

T-Test - Social Values (Efficacy)

	No. of Cases	Mean	Standard Deviation	Standard Error	T-Value	Deg. of Freedom	2-Tail Probability
Grp 1	41	0.4247	0.715	0.112	3.22	112.60	0.002
Grp 2	103	-0.0779	1.108	0.109			
Grp 3	31	-0.7067	0.938	0.168	-2.68	71.57	0.009
Grp 4	43	0.0279	1.415	0.216			
Grp 1	41	0.4247	0.715	0.112	5.60	54.30	0.000
Grp 3	31	-0.7067	0.938	0.168			
Grp 1	41	0.4247	0.715	0.112	1.63	62.78	0.108
Grp 4	43	0.0279	1.415	0.216			
Grp 2	103	-0.0779	1.108	0.109	3.13	57.49	0.003
Grp 3	31	-0.7067	0.938	0.168			
Grp 2	103	-0.0779	1.108	0.109	-0.44	64.49	0.663
Grp 4	43	0.0279	1.415	0.216			

MULTIPLE RANGE TEST (0.05 level)

Social Values (Efficacy)

Subset 1

Group	Group 3
Mean	-0.7067

Subset 2

Group	Group 2	Group 4
Mean	-0.0779	0.0279

Subset 3

Group	Group 4	Group 1
Mean	0.0279	0.4247

in which the "traditional" subject would be expected to display fatalistic attitudes whilst the modern subject would be expected to be more personally efficacious.

Table 11 summarises the T-Test comparison of the means between the cultural group or this function; once again four of the six expected differences between the groups are confirmed as being significant although the pattern of association is in contrast to the pattern described in the first function. In the case of Personal Efficacy versus Fatalism, the rank order of means is group 1, 4, 2, 3, indicating that group 4 is more efficacious (ie. modern) than might have been expected. Comparison of the means shows that neither group 1 and group 4, or group 2 and group 4, are significantly different in their attachment to Personal Efficacy.

Discussion

The analysis of differences in Social Values between the groups support the hypothesis that the groups are differentiated according to their attachment to modern or traditional social values. The values of social conformity and of fatalism which have been demonstrated to accord with social traditionalism in the literature are more characteristic of the Polynesian cultural groups. On the other hand, the values of self-assertion and of personal efficacy, associated with modernity, are more characteristic of the European cultural groups. Furthermore, it has been strongly indicated that with reference to attachment to social values, group 1 is more modern than group 2 and group 4 is more traditional than group 3. The main exception to this analysis is that group 1 and group 4 share an attachment to Personal Efficacy, contrary to expectations that group 4 would be more fatalistic.

An explanation for this finding may lie in the characteristic which is shared by group 1 and 4, in contradistinction to groups 2 and 3. Groups 1 and 4 are both emigrants to New Zealand and consequently it may be suggested that in both cases, the subjects demonstrated personal efficacy by venturing from their home country long distances to a relatively unknown world (ie. New Zealand). This factor however should not serve to join groups 1 and 4 in attachment to conformity since the literature suggests that Pacific Islanders may be very conforming in New Zealand because of their felt obligation to kin back home, and to the chain migration processes which brings kin to share New Zealand life with them (Pitt and McPherson, 1976).

2. CULTURAL GROUP DIFFERENCES AND SUPERVISORY POWER CONSTRUCTS

(a) Work Goals

Hypothesis

Differences will be found between the cultural groups in their attachment to work goals. These differences will reflect differences in cultural values in the order of groups 4, 3, 2, 1 where:

(a) Group 4 will be most attached and group 1 least attached to "people goals".

(b) Group 4 will be least attached and group 1 most attached to "task goals".

Analysis of the ranked values attached by each group to seven work goals which were posited as being of importance to supervisors, showed that the only significant differences between the groups concerned importance of work quality, and importance of friendly relationships with workers. Table 12 presents the T-Tests of differences between rank values.

In the ranking of the goal "High Quality Work", there is a significant difference (at the 0.007 level) between groups 2 and 4, and differences of weak significance between groups 1 and 4 (0.066 level), and between groups 3 and 4 (0.077 level). When the group mean scores are examined, it is clear that group 4 attaches less importance to achieving High Quality Work than do all other groups.

Table 13 presents the results pertaining to differences between the

Table 12

T-Test - Work Goal (Quality)

	No. of Cases	Mean	Standard Deviation	Standard Error	T-Value	Deg. of Freedom	2-Tail Probability
Grp 1	41	2.5122	1.519	0.237	0.71	73.75	0.482
Grp 2	102	2.3137	1.515	0.150			
Grp 3	30	2.4667	1.613	0.295	-1.80	65.60	0.077
Grp 4	40	3.2000	1.786	0.282			
Grp 1	41	2.5122	1.519	0.237	0.12	60.39	0.905
Grp 3	30	2.4667	1.613	0.295			
Grp 1	41	2.5122	1.519	0.237	-1.87	76.37	0.066
Grp 4	40	3.2000	1.786	0.282			
Grp 2	102	2.3137	1.515	0.150	-0.46	45.14	0.646
Grp 3	30	2.4667	1.613	0.295			
Grp 2	102	2.3137	1.515	0.150	-2.77	62.22	0.007
Grp 4	40	3.2000	1.786	0.282			

MULTIPLE RANGE TEST (0.05 level)

Work Goal (Quality)

Subset 1

Group	Group 2	Group 3	Group 1
Mean	2.3137	2.4667	2.5122

Subset 2

Group	Group 3	Group 1	Group 4
Mean	2.4667	2.5122	3,2000

Table 13

T-Test - Work Goal (Friendliness)

	No. of Cases	Mean	Standard Deviation	Standard Error	T-Value	Deg. of Freedom	2-Tail Probability
Grp 1	41	5.0976	1.744	0.272	0.82	74.88	0.417
Grp 2	102	4.8333	1.769	0.175			
Grp 3	30	4.2667	2.227	0.407	0.46	61.27	0.650
Grp 4	40	4.0250	2.142	0.339			
Grp 1	41	5.0976	1.744	0.272	1.70	53.10	0.095
Grp 3	30	4.2667	2.227	0.407			
Grp 1	41	5.0976	1.744	0.272	2.47	75.11	0.016
Grp 4	40	4.0250	2.142	0.339			
Grp 2	102	4.8333	1.769	0.175	1.28	40.36	0.208
Grp 3	30	4.2667	2.227	0.407			
Grp 2	102	4.8333	1.769	0.175	2.12	60.97	0.038
Grp 4	40	4.0250	2.142	0.339			

MULTIPLE RANGE TEST (0.05 level)

Work Goal (Friendliness)

Subset 1

Group	Group 4	Group 3
Mean	4.0250	4.2667

Subset 2

Group	Group 3	Group 2	Group 1
Mean	4.2667	4.8333	5.0976

groups in their ranking of "Friendly Relationships with Workers". Once again, there is a significant difference between groups 2 and 4 (0.038 level), and between groups 1 and 4 (0.016 level); a weak difference is also revealed between groups 1 and 3 (0.095 level). The group mean scores show that group 4, and to a lesser extent group 3, attach higher importance to achieving friendly relationships with workers than do groups 1 and 2.

Discussion

Hypothesis (a) is partially supported in that significant differences were found between the groups in their evaluation of the importance of achieving High Quality Work, and Friendly Relationships with Workers. These differences, however, were primarily between group 4 and all other groups, significant differences were not found between groups 1, 2, and 3.

Hypothesis (b) is also partly supported in that group 4 attached lower importance than other groups to the "task goal" of achieving High Quality Work. Also, group 4 attached higher importance than other groups to the "people goal" of achieving Friendly Relationships with Workers. Since group 4 has been characterised as the most traditional in cultural background, it appears that this data gives some support to the proposition that a traditional cultural background may tend to cause a supervisor to attach more importance to people goals and less importance to task goals than a supervisor with a modern cultural background. This finding shows that the organisational socialisation processes, which inculcate the organisations values and priorities attached to work goals within the workforce, may not completely overcome conflicting values and priorities of organisation members from a traditional culture. That this should be so in the case of workers is not surprising, but the present finding relating to supervisors is more surprising given the role of

the supervisor as part of that organisation socialisation process and the fact that presumably he was selected for a management position partly on the basis of his observed commitment to organisational goal priorities.

(b) Power Base

Hypothesis

Differences will be found between the cultural groups in their bases of power. These differences will reflect differences in cultural values in the order of group 4, 3, 2, 1 where:

(a) group 4 will have highest attachment and group 1 least attachment to a 'referent' base of power.

(b) group 4 will have highest attachment and group 1 least attachment to a 'coercive' base of power.

Discriminant Analysis was performed separately on items dealing with a) Reward, Punishment, Expert, and Legitimate bases of power, and b) Items dealing with Referent Power (ie. range).

This separation of analysis was necessary because the items in a) above explicitly related the base of power to the supervisors ability to get his workers' to carry out his orders. The items in b) above probed the supervisors personal relationships with his workers but only implicitly related these to their compliance with his order.

Discriminant Analysis of the first set of items produced one significant function (at the 0.000 level - see Appendix 2) consisting of two items (presented in order of contribution) which relate to a Coercive Power Base:

Table 14

Coercive Power Base

Item 1 - Workers comply with supervisor because they feel he can reward them if they cooperate with him.

Item 2 - Workers comply with supervisor because they feel he can punish them if they don't cooperate with him.

Table 16 below presents the T-Test analysis of differences between the cultural groups in their reported coercive power bases.

This analysis shows that five of the six expected differences between the mean scores of Coercive Power Base are significant at the 0.02 level or higher. The only non-significant difference is between groups 1 and 2. Furthermore, the scores show that the ordering of the groups in their reporting of a coercive power base is as expected in that group 1 has the lowest coercive power base, whilst group 4 has the highest coercive power base (the order is group 4, 3, 2, 1).

Discriminant Analysis of the items dealing with Referent power bases also produces a single significant function (Appendix 3) which includes three of the four items inserted in the analysis.

This Referent power function is made up of the following items (in order of contribution):

Table 15

Referent Power Base

Item 1. Supervisor gets together socially with his workers.

Item 2. Supervisor is either related to his workers or they are his close personal friends.

Item 3. Supervisor is liked as a person by his workers.

Table 17 below presents the T-Test analysis of differences between the cultural groups in their reporting of Referent Power Base. Once again, five out of the six expected differences between the groups are supported at the 0.01 level of significance or better. Also, the only difference which is not significant is between groups 1 and 2, which is the same result as in the

Table 16

T-Test - Power Base (Coercive)

	No. of Cases	Mean	Standard Deviation	Standard Error	T-Value	Deg. of Freedom	2-Tail Probability
Grp 1	41	-0.2136	0.8665	0.1353	0.75	74.2	0.454
Grp 2	103	-0.3344	0.8747	0.0862			
Grp 3	31	0.2836	0.9085	0.1632	-2.33	67.7	0.023
Grp 4	43	0.8005	0.9848	0.1502			
Grp 1	41	-0.2136	0.8665	0.1353	-2.34	63.1	0.022
Grp 3	31	0.2836	0.9085	0.1632			
Grp 1	41	-0.2136	0.8665	0.1353	-5.02	81.5	0.000
Grp 4	43	0.8005	0.9848	0.1502			
Grp 2	103	-0.3344	0.8747	0.0862	-3.35	48.0	0.002
Grp 3	31	0.2836	0.9085	0.1632			
Grp 2	103	-0.3344	0.8747	0.0862	-6.55	71.0	0.000
Grp 4	43	0.8005	0.9848	0.1502			

MULTIPLE RANGE TEST (0.05 level)

Power Base (Coercive)

Subset 1

Group	Group 2	Group 1
Mean	-0.3344	-0.2136

Subset 2

Group	Group 3
Mean	0.2836

Subset 3

Group	Group 4
Mean	0.8005

Table 17

T-Test - Power Base (Referent)

	No. of Cases	Mean	Standard Deviation	Standard Error	T-Value	Deg. of Freedom	2-Tail Probability
Grp 1	41	0.3554	0.7696	0.1202	-1.11	74.4	0.272
Grp 2	103	0.5131	0.7788	0.0767			
Grp 3	31	-0.1962	1.0134	0.1820	3.62	63.7	0.001
Grp 4	43	-1.0509	0.9857	0.1503			
Grp 1	41	0.3554	0.7696	0.1202	2.53	54.1	0.014
Grp 3	31	-0.1962	1.0134	0.1820			
Grp 1	41	0.3554	0.7696	0.1202	7.31	79.0	0.000
Grp 4	43	-0.0509	0.9857	0.1503			
Grp 2	103	0.5131	0.7788	0.0767	3.59	41.2	0.001
Grp 3	31	-0.1962	1.0134	0.1820			
Grp 2	103	0.5131	0.7788	0.0767	9.27	64.9	0.000
Grp 4	43	-1.0509	0.9857	0.1503			

MULTIPLE RANGE TEST (0.05 level)

Power Base (Referent)

Subset 1

Group	Group 4
Mean	-1.0509

Subset 2

Group	Group 3
Mean	-0.1962

Subset 3

Group	Group 1	Group 2
Mean	0.3554	0.5131

analysis of Coercive Power Base. Examination of the scores reveals that the ordering of the groups consists of groups 4, 3, 1, 2, where group 4 has the highest Referent Power Base and group 2 the lowest Referent Power Base. (N.B. because the coefficients are negative, the negative mean scores represent higher scores than the positive mean scores.)

The correlational relationship between the Coercive and Referent Power Bases is presented below:

Table 18

Correlation-Coercive and Referent Power Bases

	Coercive	Referent
Coercive	X	0.3586
Referent	0.3586	X

Significance = 0.001 level

(N.B. Positive correlation results from reversing signs for Referent Power Base in order to compare high score levels for each Power Base.)

The fairly high positive correlation between Referent and Coercive Bases of Power is additional evidence to suggest that both bases are highly interrelated.

Discussion

Hypothesis (a) is partly supported except that groups 1 and 2 were shown to have a similarly low referent base of power. The order of group attachment to both referent and coercive power bases was as predicted.

Hypothesis (b) is also partly supported with the same exception (ie. between

groups 1 and 2). In the case of Coercive Power Base, the ordering of mean scores for the groups was as predicted (groups 4, 3, 2, 1) with the most traditional group (group 4, Pacific Islanders) having the highest Coercive Power Base and the most modern group (group 1, British) having the lowest coercive power base. In the case of Referent Base, the most traditional group (group 4) also had the highest Referent Base but the most modern group (group 1) had a slightly higher score than group 2 (ie. the expected order was group 4, 3, 2, 1; the actual order was group 4, 3, 1, 2).

The conclusions to be drawn from these results seem to be that the traditional groups in this study do indeed differ in some respects in their power bases from the more modern groups and that these differences relate to differences in key social values, particularly those relating to social relationships. The Polynesian supervisors construe working relationships as consisting of an integration of affect and function; the traditional workgroup involving work roles and exercise of authority is also the kin group and thus there is no division between dimensions of social relationships. The results presented above indicate that Polynesian supervisors were more likely to be related to their workers, to be close personal friends with them, to mix socially, and to be liked as a person by them. In contrast, the European supervisors reported that they were less likely to have such relationships with their workers, thus emphasising the pattern in modern societies of the division between work and social life, and between authority relationships and personal/social relationships.

This integration of the "authority" and "personal" dimensions of relationships in traditional life is further exemplified by the differences between the groups in their Coercive Power Bases. The more traditional groups had higher Coercive Bases indicating that for them there is no necessary conflict

between friendship and exercising of control (ie. by reward and punishment sanctions). The higher coercive base of the Polynesians also is suggestive of the authoritarianism of traditional society in which deviance from the expected conformity to social norms and rules (concerning both personal relations and functional work behaviors) is subject to the use of sanctions. The individual may be subject to reward sanctions to "pull" him away from possible deviance, and punishment sanctions to "push him away" from deviance. Apparently some vestige of this traditional pattern remains in the modern factory in the Polynesian supervisors higher coercive base of power.

(c) Power Strategies

Hypothesis

Differences will be found between the cultural groups in their strategies of power. These differences will reflect differences in cultural values in the order of group 4, 3, 2, 1 where group 4 will have highest attachment and group 1 least attachment to a power strategy involving both close personal relationships and close surveillance of their workers.

Appendix 4 presents the results of discriminant analysis revealing two power strategy discriminant functions (with significance levels of 0.000 and 0.003) which are constructed from nine items. By separating out only those items contributing significantly to each function (ie. those with higher coefficient levels) the first function is found to consist of five items which are presented in Table 19. The function is named by reference to the most significant item (Nie et al, 1975, p. 443) which suggests a strategy of structuring the task in order to be able to easily check that workers are conforming in the way they perform the task. The second item suggests

Table 19

Power Strategy Function 1 - Surveillance for Conformity

Items (in order of significance)

1. Supervisor organises jobs of his workers so that he can easily check whether the job is being properly done.
2. Supervisor tries to ensure that each worker has only one or two things that he expects him to do at any one time.
3. Supervisor points out to his workers that he is only following company rules when he insists that they do the job the way he wants them to do it.
4. Supervisor threatens his workers with punishment if they fail to follow his instructions.
5. Supervisor tries to get his workers to do their job well by letting them know how you really feel about how they are working.

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that covert surveillance may be facilitated by limiting the variety of a workers' responsibilities. A link may also be posited between the third, fourth and fifth items which refer to overt surveillance in which the supervisor leaves the worker in no doubt of the requirement of conformity and possible consequences of non-conformity.

A comparison of the Surveillance for Conformity mean scores for the four cultural groups is presented in Table 20. Significant differences at the 0.000 level are shown in four of the six comparisons, however, no significant differences exist between groups 1 and 2, and groups 3 and 4. Consideration of the mean scores reveals that groups 3 and 4 (Polynesians) are higher in their attachment to Surveillance than are groups 1 and 2 (Europeans).

The second power strategy function is presented in Table 21 below:

Table 20

T-Test - Power Strategy (Surveillance)

	No. of Cases	Mean	Standard Deviation	Standard Error	T-Value	Deg. of Freedom	2-Tail Probability
Grp 1	41	-0.3418	0.904	0.141	0.55	70.01	0.587
Grp 2	103	-0.4316	0.854	0.084			
Grp 3	31	0.6218	0.808	0.145	-0.94	72.00	0.349
Grp 4	43	0.8333	1.121	0.171			
Grp 1	41	-0.3418	0.904	0.141	-4.76	67.98	0.000
Grp 3	31	0.6218	0.808	0.145			
Grp 1	41	-0.3418	0.904	0.141	-5.30	79.82	0.000
Grp 4	43	0.8333	1.121	0.171			
Grp 2	103	-0.4316	0.854	0.084	-6.28	51.83	0.000
Grp 3	31	0.6218	0.808	0.145			
Grp 2	103	-0.4316	0.854	0.084	-6.64	63.26	0.000
Grp 4	43	0.8333	1.121	0.171			

MULTIPLE RANGE TEST (0.05 level)

Power Strategy (Surveillance)

Subset 1

Group	Group 2	Group 1
Mean	-0.4316	-0.3418

Subset 2

Group	Group 3	Group 4
Mean	0.6218	0.8333

Table 21

Power Strategy Function 2 - Power Aggrandisement

Items (in order of significance)

1. Supervisor relies on backing and support of his boss to get his workers to do what he wants them to do.
2. Supervisor tries to find out what his workers think about how the job should be done because he feels their views can be just as important as his own.
3. Supervisor points out to his workers that he is only following company rules when he insists that they do the job the way he wants them to do it.
4. Supervisor always tries to approach workers in a friendly manner.

This function is once again named by the most significant item which emphasises a strategy of increasing ones own position power by utilising vicariously some of the additional position power of ones superior. Item three may be interpreted as supplementing position power by reference to the power of the organisation in that the supervisor suggests to the worker that it is not his instructions which are to be obeyed so much as it is company rules which require the workers' compliance. By inference therefore, the supervisor suggests that failure to comply will incur company sanctions which may be expected to be of greater force than the sanctions attached to supervisory position.

Items two and four appear to be in conflict with power aggrandisement; however, in this case, reference to the relationships between the mean scores for all items reveals that positive responses on items 1 and 3 are associated with negative responses on items 2 and 4. Thus, items 2 and 4 are viewed as a kind of "negative" power aggrandisement; subjects who emphasise power

Table 22

T-Test - Power Strategy (Aggrandisement)

	No. of Cases	Mean	Standard Deviation	Standard Error	T-Value	Deg. of Freedom	2-Tail Probability
Grp 1	41	2.8089	1.065	0.166	-0.49	78.19	0.629
Grp 2	103	2.9063	1.137	0.112			
Grp 3	31	3.7206	1.062	0.191	-1.33	71.54	0.188
Grp 4	43	4.0955	1.365	0.208			
Grp 1	41	2.8089	1.065	0.166	-3.60	64.86	0.001
Grp 3	31	3.7206	1.062	0.191			
Grp 1	41	2.8089	1.065	0.166	-4.83	78.96	0.000
Grp 4	43	4.0955	1.365	0.208			
Grp 2	103	2.9063	1.137	0.112	-3.68	52.44	0.001
Grp 3	31	3.7206	1.062	0.191			
Grp 2	103	2.9063	1.137	0.112	-5.03	67.51	0.000
Grp 4	43	4.0955	1.365	0.208			

MULTIPLE RANGE TEST (0.05 level)

Power Strategy (Aggrandisement)

Subset 1

Group	Group 1	Group 2
Mean	2.8089	2.9063

Subset 2

Group	Group 3	Group 4
Mean	3.7206	4.0955

aggrandisement do not tend to treat their workers as if they were as knowledgeable about the job as themselves, or emphasise a perpetual friendly manner when dealing with workers. Both these behaviors would tend to decrease role distance between supervisor and worker. Power Aggrandisement, however, seeks to increase the role distance between them.

The comparison of differences between the cultural groups on Power Aggrandisement shows that four of the six expected differences are supported at the 0.001 or higher level of significance. The Multiple Range Test shows that groups 1 and 2 (Europeans) are clearly differentiated from groups 3 and 4 (Polynesians) in their attachment to Power Aggrandisement but that there are no significant differences within each of these sub-groupings. The mean scores for this function reveal that Polynesians are more highly attached to Power Aggrandisement than are the Europeans.

Table 23 below presents the correlation coefficient which relates "Surveillance" with "Power Aggrandisement".

Table 23

Correlations Between Power Strategies

	Surveillance	Power Aggrandisement
Surveillance	X	0.615
Power Aggrandisement	0.615	X

Significance = 0.001

This highly positive correlation between the two power strategy functions suggests that they are highly interrelated, a point which will be dealt with in the discussion of this section (below).

The analysis of Power Strategy would not however be complete without reference to the supplementary evidence pertaining to the Coercive, Remunerative,

and Normative means by which the cultural groups exercise power. The three items presented below all demonstrate that significant differences exist between the cultural groups in their attachment to Coercive, Remunerative, and Normative means.

Table 24

Cultural Differences in Means of Power

Item 1

Suppose you have a worker in your department you don't like and you want him moved to another department. Which one of these things would you do to get him moved from your department?

(a) Offer to transfer him to a more attractive job (Remunerative).

(b) Point out to him that it is best for everybody for him to move to another department since only people who get along should work in the same department (Normative).

(c) Give him difficult or unpleasant work to do so that he himself will ask for a transfer to another department (Coercive).

Power	Group 1 %	Group 2 %	Group 3 %	Group 4 %
Coercive	0.0	6.9	0.0	11.6
Remunerative	29.3	26.5	51.6	46.5
Normative	70.7	66.7	48.4	41.9
	(n = 41)	(n = 102)	(n = 31)	(n = 43)

Chi Square = 18.454 with 6 degrees of freedom

significance = 0.005

Table 25

Item 2

Suppose your workers are producing much less work than other workers doing similar work, which one of these would you do to get more production out of your workers?

(a) Warn them that some people will have to be fired unless things improve (Coercive).

(b) Show them that they are losing bonus and other benefits by working so slowly (Remunerative).

(c) Tell them that it is their duty to earn their pay by doing a fair days work (Normative).

Power	Group 1 %	Group 2 %	Group 3 %	Group 4 %
Coercive	0.0	4.9	12.9	18.6
Remunerative	58.5	46.1	54.8	27.9
Normative	41.5	49.0	32.3	53.5
	(n = 41)	(n = 102)	(n = 31)	(n = 43)

Chi Square = 18.872 with 6 degrees of freedom

significance = 0.004

Table 26

Item 3

Suppose you have a number of very good workers in your department who are qualified for promotion but can only be replaced by workers with much less ability. Which one of these things would you be most likely to do to keep them in your department?

(a) Prevent them from being transferred (Coercive).

(b) Encourage them to stay by offering them more overtime and other extra benefits (Remunerative).

(c) Point out to them that since their skills are badly needed in the department they ought to stay (Normative).

Power	Group 1 %	Group 2 %	Group 3 %	Group 4 %
Coercive	0.0	9.9	7.1	37.2
Remunerative	39.0	34.7	28.6	25.6
Normative	61.0	55.4	64.3	37.2
	(n = 41)	(n = 101)	(n = 28)	(n = 43)

Chi Square = 30.533 with 6 degrees of freedom

significance = 0.000

The results of these three items show that whilst supervisors generally place more reliance on Normative and Remunerative strategies than on Coercive strategies, there is a clear trend for Polynesian supervisors (especially Pacific Islanders, Group 4) to be more attached to Coercive strategies than are the other groups. Item 3 shows more than one-third of the group 4 (Pacific Island) supervisors would choose this strategy as compared with none of the group 1 (British) supervisors. This item is interesting because whilst it is similar to items 1 and 2 in its emphasis on deviance from conformity, it seems to test supervisors attitude to positive rather than negative deviance ie. the worker is to leave the group because he has deviated from group performance norms by performing too highly. The Pacific Islanders response seems to be based not only on the need for conformity in terms of staying with the group to serve the groups needs, but also on a negative value attached to individual achievement ie. the achiever is to be punished, not rewarded.

Discussion

Comparative Analysis of the power strategies of the different cultural

groups has revealed support for the hypothesis which predicted significant differences between the groups. However, the differences which have been presented generally suggest that neither groups 1 and 2, or groups 3 and 4 are different from each other; the significant differences lie between groups 1 and 2 (Europeans) and groups 3 and 4 (Polynesians).

The hypothesis receives some support in that Europeans and Polynesians differ in their attachment to a function identified as Surveillance for Conformity. The higher scores of the Polynesian groups on this function support the suggestion drawn from the literature that surveillance is a characteristic of traditional, rather than modern, peoples. The discovery of a second functio Power Aggrandisement, which is highly correlated to Surveillance, suggests that traditional supervisors in a modern factory situation may partly replace or supplement the hierarchical structure and rules characteristic of their traditional society with the hierarchical structure and rules characteristic of the modern industrial factory. The literature suggested that the traditional leader is vitally concerned with the conformity of his social group and with the continuance of his own high status position which depends in part on the conformity of his group. Furthermore, the conformity of his group towards social rules (mediated through him) is the means by which their respect is shown towards him; deviance may be said to represent disrespect towards the leader who holds formal position status, and thus to warrant the use of coercive means of influence. It is thus suggested that surveillance and power aggrandisement may well be congruent strategies insofar as they both contribute towards a close supervisory relationship between supervisor and worker which is characteristic of traditional peoples. The literature describing Pacific Islanders strongly suggested that deviance was viewed as such in the Pacific Islands only when it was discovered, but on discovery

was subjected to relatively punitive sanctions.

The hypothesised power strategy which was not supported by the data concerned close personal relationships between the supervisor and the workers. It was expected that the close relationship ties of Polynesians revealed in the analysis of Power Bases would emerge as strategies used by the Polynesian supervisors. The finding that no significant differences exist between the groups in their attachment to close relationships as a power strategy suggest that Polynesians do not associate such relationships with influence in the same way that Europeans do. To Europeans, close relationships emphasise affect rather than functional relationships, and furthermore, imply egalitari rather than hierarchical relations. To Polynesians, close relationships emphasise a combination of affect and functionality and also imply hierarchic rather than egalitarian relations. These differences between European and Polynesians are based on differences within their cultures; primarily they are based on the principles in Polynesian society of kin group living, and of ascribed status. The kin group is not only a network of affective relationships (as it primarily is amongst Europeans), it is also the productive unit in society (the "factory" of traditional life) and therefore family relationships must also be functional relationships due to the need of the unit to organise itself to produce food and goods for its own survival. Furthermore, the principle of ascribed status (based on seniority, primogeniture sex, etc. places each member of this "unit" in a hierarchical network of ranked status.

The analysis of means of power further contributes towards understanding cultural differences in power strategies. The main difference revealed betwee the cultural groups was that the Pacific Islander supervisors were more attached to coercive means of power than were other groups. This attachment

was highest when the supervisor was confronted by a worker who was threatening to leave the group by achieving higher performance than others. This situation starkly contrasts the traditional and modern values and their impact on supervisory power strategies. To the European, the high achiever cannot be prevented from leaving the group because he owes the group nothing and it is by achievement that ones status and position is enhanced. But to the Polynesian, the high achiever is almost betraying the group by leaving and the leader by the disrespect represented by his deviance to social norms, furthermore, the achiever has not gained ascribed status by his performance and thus should not enhance his position.

3. CULTURAL DIFFERENCES AND OUTCOMES OF SUPERVISORY POWER

(a) Satisfaction

Hypothesis

Differences will be found between the cultural groups in their levels of job satisfaction. These differences will reflect differences in cultural values in the order of group 4, 3, 2, 1 where:-

(a) Group 4 will have highest satisfaction and group 1 least satisfaction with both relationships on the job and with organisational factors that facilitate the maintenance of these close working relationships.

(b) Group 4 will have highest and group 1 will have least overall job satisfaction.

Discriminant Analysis was performed on the ten items dealing with levels of satisfaction on particular job dimensions; furthermore, T-Test analysis was performed on the levels of overall job satisfaction between the cultural groups. A discriminant function consisting of three items was identified (at the 0.000 level - Appendix 6) and is presented in Table 27.

Table 27

Satisfaction with Position

Item 1. Satisfaction that your present job makes good use of your skills and abilities.

Item 2. Satisfaction that your job provides you with a sense of achievement (a sense of doing something worthwhile).

Item 3. Satisfaction with the way things are done in this company.

Item 1 above makes the highest contribution to the function and suggests satisfaction of the supervisor concerning his supervisory position in terms

Table 28

T-Test - Satisfaction with Position

	No. of Cases	Mean	Standard Deviation	Standard Error	T-Value	Deg. of Freedom	2-Tail Probabilit
Grp 1	41	0.4147	0.950	0.148	1.35	64.92	0.182
Grp 2	103	0.1870	0.818	0.081			
Grp 3	31	-0.3789	0.784	0.141	0.97	69.31	0.334
Grp 4	43	-0.6214	1.347	0.205			
Grp 1	41	0.4147	0.950	0.148	3.88	69.41	0.000
Grp 3	31	-0.3789	0.784	0.141			
Grp 1	41	0.4147	0.950	0.148	4.09	75.61	0.000
Grp 4	43	-0.6214	1.347	0.205			
Grp 2	103	0.1870	0.818	0.081	3.49	51.28	0.001
Grp 3	31	-0.3789	0.784	0.141			
Grp 2	103	0.1870	0.818	0.081	3.66	55.39	0.001
Grp 4	43	-0.6214	1.347	0.205			

MULTIPLE RANGE TEST (0.05 level)

Satisfaction with Position

Subset 1

Group	Group 4	Group 3
Mean	-0.6214	-0.3789

Subset 2

Group	Group 2	Group 1
Mean	0.1870	0.4147

Table 29

T-Test - Overall Satisfaction

	No. of Cases	Mean	Standard Deviation	Standard Error	T-Value	Deg. of Freedom	2-Tail Probability
Grp 1	41	3.3415	0.9902	0.1546	-0.61	59.9	0.543
Grp 2	103	3.4466	0.7635	0.0752			
Grp 3	31	4.0645	0.8538	0.1534	2.36	69.8	0.021
Grp 4	42	3.5476	1.0170	0.1569			
Grp 1	41	3.3415	0.9902	0.1546	-3.32	68.7	0.001
Grp 3	31	4.0645	0.8538	0.1534			
Grp 1	41	3.3415	0.9902	0.1546	-0.94	81.0	0.352
Grp 4	42	3.5476	1.0170	0.1569			
Grp 2	103	3.4466	0.7635	0.0752	-3.62	45.4	0.001
Grp 3	31	4.0645	0.8538	0.1534			
Grp 2	103	3.4466	0.7635	0.0752	-0.58	60.7	0.564
Grp 4	42	3.5476	1.0170	0.1569			

MULTIPLE RANGE TEST (0.05 level)

Overall Satisfaction

Subset 1

Group	Group 1	Group 2	Group 4
Mean	3.3415	3.4466	3.5476

Subset 2

Group	Group 3
Mean	4.0645

of its congruence with his skills and abilities. Item 2 also refers to the supervisory position but this item makes a negative contribution to the functio in viewing the group means it is clear that subjects answering positively on items 1 and 3 tend to answer negatively on item 2. Item 3 seems to refer to the structuring of activities within the company including the structuring of the supervisory role. The meaning of the function will be discussed in detail below (Discussion section).

Table 28 presents the results of T-Test analysis of differences between the cultural groups in their level of satisfaction with position. Four of the six expected differences between groups are supported (at 0.001 level of significance) but no significant differences were found between groups 1 and 2, or between groups 3 and 4. The Multiple Range Test confirms that Europeans (groups 1 and 2) are differentiated from Polynesians (groups 3 and 4) in Satisfaction with Position.

Since this function is negatively valued (see coefficients in Appendix 6) group 4 has the highest level of Satisfaction with Position, whilst group 1 has the lowest level; the rank ordering is groups 4, 3, 2, 1.

Table 29 presents the T-Test of differences between the cultural groups in their levels of overall job satisfaction. Only three of the six expected differences between groups are supported by the T-Test analysis, and all three reveal significant differences between group 3 and all other groups. Multiple Range Test confirms that group 3 (Maoris) have significantly higher overall job satisfaction than all other groups. The ordering of mean scores of overall satisfaction is group 3, 4, 2, 1, indicating that the Polynesian groups did have higher job satisfaction than the European groups, and that although Maoris (group 3) were more satisfied than expected, the remaining order of groups was as expected.

The relationship between Satisfaction with Position and overall Job Satisfaction is presented by the correlational analysis reported below:

Table 30

Correlations between Satisfaction with Position and Overall Job Satisfaction

	Satisfaction with Position	Overall Satisfaction
Satisfaction with position	X	0.3706
Overall satisfaction	0.3706	X

sig. level = 0.001
(n = 217)

The fairly high positive correlation coefficient between the two measures of satisfaction suggests that they are associated.

Discussion

The first question which must be discussed in interpreting these findings concerns the meaning of the discriminant function of satisfaction. It has been suggested that the function deals with Satisfaction with Position; however, a negative contribution is made to the function by Item 2 which probes supervisory satisfaction with a sense of achievement from the job. The Polynesian supervisors report a lower sense of achievement than do the European supervisors. However, the precise meaning of this finding is rendered difficult because of the classic problem in cross-cultural research; namely the administration of a construct to different cultural groups who perceive that construct in different ways. In discussing social values (see Part 1), the literature suggested that Polynesians view personal/individual achievement negatively because it implies rejection of the social group, and

consequently achievement is not necessarily a status base. For Europeans, however, individual achievement is the main base of social status and consequently to report that one is not achieving anything within ones job is to report ones low social status. Another complicating factor in interpreting achievement is the qualification of "a sense of doing something worthwhile". This might be taken to mean "doing something intrinsically interesting", or even "doing something worthwhile in terms of its contribution to social group welfare".

What then is the meaning of this function, and how does it relate to the hypothesised difference in job satisfaction between the groups? Satisfaction with position seems to imply a feeling of congruence between the position of supervisor and ones own abilities and skills, it seems to focus on the authority and leadership inherent in the way the job is fitted, by the organisation, into the structure of organisational life. The function does not include items related to the actual work of the department which suggests that the difference between the cultural groups is in the area of satisfaction with the position of supervisor as an influence role ie. as requiring the exercising of influence vis-a-vis workers.

Hypothesis(a) suggested that differences would be found between the cultural groups in job satisfaction dimensions. This has been partly supported in that groups 1 and 2 were found to differ significantly from groups 3 and 4 in Satisfaction with Position.

Hypothesis(a) suggested that these differences would relate to organisational factors that facilitate close and controlling work relationships between supervisor and worker. This hypothesis is neither upheld or denied in that the data available was not sufficient to test the hypothesis. However, it is suggested that "Satisfaction with Position" refers to satisfaction with the

way the supervisory role has been structured by the organisation and insofar as "traditional" supervisors emphasise close controlling relationships, it may be suggested that their higher satisfaction with position reflects a feeling that position facilitates such close and controlling relationships.

Hypothesis (b) suggested that cultural groups would differ in levels of overall satisfaction; however, the results of T-Test analysis disclosed that only group 3 had a significantly higher satisfaction than all other groups, although the order of satisfaction was in the expected direction (insofar as groups 1 and 2 had less satisfaction than groups 3 and 4).

(b) Effectiveness

Hypothesis

Differences will be found between the cultural groups in their perceptions of their own effectiveness. These differences will reflect differences in cultural values in the order of group 4, 3, 2, 1 where:-

(a) Group 4 will perceive themselves to be most effective and group 1 will perceive themselves as least effective in achieving "people-goals".

(b) Group 4 will perceive themselves to be least effective and group 1 will perceive themselves as most effective in achieving "task-goals".

Discriminant Analysis was performed on seven items which were designed to probe supervisors perceptions of their success in achieving the work goals they had previously been asked to rank. A discriminant function was identified consisting of two items which suggested Effectiveness in achieving "People Goals":

Table 31

People Goals Effectiveness

Item 1. Success in making workers happy with their jobs.

Item 2. Success in getting workers to feel happy working for the company.

Table 32

T-Test - People-Goal Effectiveness

	No. of Cases	Mean	Standard Deviation	Standard Error	T-Value	Deg. of Freedom	2-Tail Probability
Grp 1	41	-0.3087	0.9439	0.1474	-0.56	69.9	0.576
Grp 2	103	-0.2123	0.8903	0.0877			
Grp 3	31	-0.1026	1.0757	0.1932	-3.90	57.1	0.000
Grp 4	43	0.8187	0.8924	0.1361			
Grp 1	41	-0.3087	0.9439	0.1474	-0.85	59.9	0.400
Grp 3	31	-0.1026	1.0757	0.1932			
Grp 1	41	-0.3087	0.9439	0.1474	-5.62	81.1	0.000
Grp 4	43	0.8187	0.8924	0.1361			
Grp 2	103	-0.2123	0.8903	0.0877	-0.52	43.1	0.608
Grp 3	31	-0.1026	1.0757	0.1932			
Grp 2	103	-0.2123	0.8903	0.0877	-6.37	78.6	0.000
Grp 4	43	0.8187	0.8924	0.1361			

MULTIPLE RANGE TEST (0.05 level)

Effectiveness (People Goal)

Subset 1

Group	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3
Mean	-0.3087	-0.2123	-0.1023

Subset 2

Group	Group 4
Mean	0.8187

Table 32 presents the analysis of differences between the cultural groups in their perceived effectiveness in achieving "people goals". The T-Test of differences between mean scores show that only three of the six expected differences were found to be significant (these were at the 0.000 level). These significant differences were found between group 4 and all other groups. Group 4 has the highest perceived effectiveness in achieving "People Goals" and group 1 has the lowest perceived effectiveness in achieving 'People Goals"; the rank order of groups 4, 3, 2, 1, is as expected in that the most traditional group (group 4) has the highest and the most modern group (group 1) has the lowest people goals effectiveness.

Discussion

Hypothesis (a) was partly supported insofar as significant differences were found between the groups in People Goal effectiveness. However the discriminant analysis did not generate a function of Task Goal effectiveness, (i.e. did not support Hypothesis (b)).

In discussing these results, the first conclusion seems to be that all supervisors tend to perceive themselves as being similarly effective except group 4 (Pacific Islanders) who see themselves as more effective in achieving people goals. The second conclusion is that the more modern groups did not perceive themselves as more effective in achieving task goals than other groups.

One factor which may affect these results is that the items dealing with effectiveness are perhaps the most complex to interpret insofar as two key influences may be expected to have had a bearing on the answers of the supervisors:

(a) The need to demonstrate that they are effective to the researcher and to the company. These questions may be seen as the most sensitive in the instruments in terms of the possible effect on the supervisors if their answers were seen by management; this might suggest that all supervisors would answer all items with maximum scores indicating their high effectiveness. However, perusal of the mean scores for all items shows that for all groups, the average response was between 3 and 4 (out of a maximum of five) indicating that the supervisors were <u>not</u> simply attributing to themselves maximum effectiveness.

(b) The need to feel that they are effective in achieving those goals which they had previously expressed as being important. It was suggested (above, Part II) that cultural group supervisors would tend to attribute higher effectiveness to themselves in those goal areas in which they had demonstrated higher priority (ie. as indicated in their ranking). Results were shown (above) which indicated that Polynesian supervisors placed a higher priority on achieving friendly relationships with workers than did European supervisors. However, in the Discriminant Analysis of Effectiveness items, "friendliness" did not contribute to the function which did, however, include two items relating to happiness and commitment of workers. It is suggested that both "friendliness" and "happiness/commitment" are related concepts insofar as they both refer to "people goals" rather than "task goals" ie. to positive attitudinal outcomes of the workgroup rather than tangible, material outcomes. Thus, if there is any relationship between goals and perceived effectiveness, there should be a positive correlation between friendliness goals and people goals effectiveness. Table 33 presents the correlation coefficients between those goals and effectiveness functions which discriminated between all the groups.

Table 33

Correlations between Goals and Effectiveness

	Goals	
	High Quality	Friendly Relationships
Effectiveness		
People goals	0.0190	0.1397
	Sig. level = 0.391	Sig. level = 0.21
	(n = 213)	(n = 213)

These results show a weak positive correlation between people goals effectiveness and friendliness, and no correlation between people goals and quality, as expected. However, this weak correlation, coupled with the fact that friendliness did not contribute to the effectiveness function, suggests that "friendliness effectiveness" and "people goals effectiveness" (happiness and commitment of workers) may be differentiated in that the former refers to the affective relationship between supervisor and workers (and may not be considered as important or even desirable by the company), whilst the latter refers to the affective relationship between the worker and the company (and may well be considered as important by the company).

4. SOCIAL VALUES AND CONSTRUCTS OF POWER

Implicit in this study is the notion that the constructs of power are related to social values in that social values provide a framework for the individual to interpret and act towards his social world. It is to be expected therefore, that some positive relationships should be demonstrated between social values and power constructs. Table 34 presents the correlation coefficients between Conformity/Self Assertion, Personal Efficacy/Fatalism, and the constructs of power.

Table 34

Correlations between Social Values and Power Constructs

	Social Values (Efficacy)	Goals (Quality)	Goals (Friendly)	Base (Coercive)	Base (Referent)
Social Values (Conformity)	-0.08	-0.16**	0.12**	0.43*	0.31*
Social Values (Personal Efficacy)	- -	0.03	-0.04	-0.07	-0.03

	Strategy (Surveillance)	Strategy (Aggrand.)	Effect. (People)	Satis. (Position)	Overall Satis.
Social Values (Conformity)	0.29*	0.26*	0.26*	0.30*	0.02
Social Values (Personal Efficacy)	-0.20*	-0.14**	-0.04	0.01	0.04

* Sig. at 0.001 level (one-tailed)
** Sig. at 0.05 level (one-tailed)
all other correlations are not significant.

The first social values function refers to orientation to Conformity versus Self-Assertion, whilst the second function refers to Personal Efficacy versus Fatalism. The correlation coefficient of the relationship between both

functions is -0.08 indicating that they are not significantly related and that the direction of association is negative. It is to be expected that a negative relationship would obtain rather then a positive relationship since Conformity is associated with Social Traditionalism, whilst Personal Efficacy is associated with Modernity. The lack of a significant relationship between the two functions seems to be linked to the association between Personal Efficacy and the immigrant cultural groups (groups 1 and 4) which have higher Efficacy (see Part IV) than the two indigenous cultural groups (groups 2 and 3). It is suggested that Personal Efficacy is related in the present study to leaving ones country of birth to settle in a foreign country, rather than to ethnicity.

Analysis of the relationships between Personal Efficacy and Power Constructs shows that it is only correlated at a significant level with the Power Strategies of Surveillance and Aggrandisement. These negative correlations (-0.20, -0.14) indicate that subjects high in personal efficacy are less likely to utilise such power strategies, in contrast to subjects high in fatalism who are more likely to utilise such strategies.

Analysis of the relationships between Conformity and Power Constructs, however, presents a very different set of results. Conformity is correlated with Goals, Power Bases, Power Strategies, People-Goal Effectiveness, and Satisfaction with Position. Conformity is correlated negatively with the goal of Higher Quality indicating that to the conforming (traditional) person the increase in quality of output from group effort is of less importance than it is to the self-asserting (modern) person. In traditional Polynesian life, the notion of quality of work is somewhat limited; one example of this is the lack of interest shown by subsistence farmers in methods which could greatly increase crop quality (Lockwood, 1971). Another example is the relative lack of artistic artifacts and limited notions of craftsmanship in traditional Polynesia (Mead,

1928). As long as the work group have produced enough to feed themselves and their dependent kin, their increased quality is of little importance as a goal. However, what is important is that by performing the work, the group have demonstrated to each other their mutual solidarity and commitment to the core relationships in life -- the reciprocal kin group relationships.

The role of the leader in the traditional Polynesian workgroup does not include orienting the group towards achieving higher quality output, but it does involve making the group feel "good". The leader is the "father" of the group, both in "real" kinship terms, and in psychological terms of leadership style. The workers are ready to obey and respect him and his instructions, but they need to feel the caring of their leader, to feel that their leader loves them. The traditional Polynesian workgroup leader may be expected to act towards the group as the "loving father" (paternalism) since it is on this basis that the group members feel secure in their compliant relationship with his authority. A fact should also be pointed out which is held by many observers of Polynesian workgroup behavior; that the members like to work in a happy atmosphere in which work is fun. This is particularly important in the industrial setting where the discipline of working hours and methods contrasts with the freedom of working patterns in agricultural Polynesia. Thus, in the factory setting, the Polynesian supervisor may feel that he should aim to create such a happy atmosphere (eg. by allowing singing and joking on the job) in order to get his workers to do what he wants.

In this context, the finding that Polynesian supervisors attached higher importance to friendly relationships with workers may be seen to originate in the social values of traditional Polynesia. However, the weak correlation between the goal of friendliness and the social value of conformity suggests

that it is not just conformity which relates to friendliness as a supervisory goal. Furthermore, "friendliness" is a difficult construct to test cross-culturally since whilst to the Polynesian supervisor it may refer to the natural order of leader-group relationships and thus to a valid end in itself for him to achieve, to the European it may be seen as a manipulative means to an end (eg. high production, etc.), a way of getting important work goals achieved.

Conformity has also been positively correlated with both the coercive and referent bases of power. The coercive base of power refers to the worker's perception that his supervisor could mediate both rewards and punishments towards him depending on his compliance. The notion of conformity suggests that it is natural and right to conform to social norms of behavior and thus it is unnatural and wrong to deviate. However, this notion of deviance also threatens the survival of the conforming group because if one member deviates and "gets away with it" then the fear is that all might attempt to deviate and thus destroy the group. In this context, the most obvious resources to enforce conformity are reward and punishment sanctions by which the potential deviant is both "pulled" and "pushed" towards conformity by the leader's manipulation of the sanctions. Unfortunately, the items used in the study to identify the coercive power base of Polynesian supervisors did not indicate precisely which types of reward and punishment the supervisors perceived themselves to possess, in particular whether they were tangible sanctions (eg. awarding overtime, recommending dismissal) or socio-emotional (eg. publicly disciplining or congratulating a worker). However, the correlation of +0.43 between conformity and Coercive Power Base is supported by the conceptual link between on the one hand a social value emphasising conformity of behavior, and on the other hand, a set of resources enabling the leader to enforce that conformity.

The Referent base of power is similarly linked conceptually to Conformity in that to the Polynesian supervisor the close personal relationship between himself and his workers demonstrates to them his conformity towards their notions of a "loving father" leader, and also creates the reciprocal obligation in them to conform by accepting his instructions. To the Polynesian supervisor, the Coercive and Referent Power Bases are inextricably linked in that the possession of one set of power resources is useless without the other (cf. the positive correlation of 0.39 between Coercive and Referent Power Bases reported above).

Power Strategies are the means or the approach chosen by the supervisor to exert power over his workers. The most significant function pertaining to Power Strategy was identified as Surveillance for Conformity; this consisted of generally practicising a "close" supervisory style in order that workers were not only prevented from exercising freedom through supervisory structuring of their tasks, but were also subjected to close, overt surveillance of their behavior. The strategy of surveillance or close supervision is in harmony with the value of Conformity; since the Polynesian leaders task is to "facilitate" the conformity and avoid deviance in the group, he must practice close surveillance in order to avoid such deviance being generated and occurring unchecked. Furthermore, to the Polynesian supervisor, this surveillance is not viewed negatively but rather positively in that by staying close to his workers, he is demonstrating his oneness with them as leader; by keeping distance from them, he would be demonstrating his lack of caring and thus abrogating their obligation to comply with his orders.

Power Aggrandisement was identified as the second function pertaining to Power Strategies; this function related to the strengthening of the supervisor's position status and power by vicariously utilising the higher position power of his supervisors and by avoiding equalisation of position status with his

workers. In the conforming society status tends to be determined more on ascriptive than on achievement bases. In effect, the head of the household is by birth the leader of the household as well as the leader of the kingroup productive unit in traditional Polynesia. This position, however, is ranked vis-a-vis other positions in terms of status, and consequently of respect owed by those of lower status. The ranking in Polynesia depends on criteria of genealogy and distance from descent group and the historical information concerning the relative ranking of titles is jealously guarded because of its importance in determining rank. In Samoa, observers (eg. Mead, 1928) have noted that "power aggrandisement" occurs quite regularly when a kingroup which has grown strong (in size or wealth, etc.) tries to create a set of genealogical links with descent groups which are higher in status than was previously claimed, and in this way, the group, and its titleholders, increase in rank and power vis-a-vis other kingroups.

In the factory situation status and power are not usually determined by birth, but rather are endowed by appointment based on individual achievement. However, the industrial organisation is hierarchical, just as is the traditional Polynesian village, in that power and status rise according to the level of ones position in the hierarchy. The major difference, however, is that the Polynesian leader, whilst he gains his basic status and power from his inherited position, is required to demonstrate his service and commitment to his people in order to gain Mana (charismatic power). To the European leader in the industrial situation, however, the repeated demonstration of concern for his workers is not necessarily a means of increasing power, in fact, it may have the opposite effect in that he is seen to be demonstrating a lack of commitment to functional organisational goals.

Thus the Polynesian supervisor, with his high orientation to conformity, may be expected to act both to increase his status through position power aggrandisement and by maintaining close surveillance (and thus demonstrating his caring for his workers). The two strategies which may be seen in other cultural frameworks as not only less valued, but as internally contradictory, when viewed in the context of traditional Polynesia may be seen as an integrated single strategy.

The analysis of differences between the cultural groups in dimensions of perceived effectiveness revealed that Polynesian supervisors emphasised their higher effectiveness in achieving "people goals", that is in getting their workers to be happy with their jobs and commited to the company. In traditional Polynesia, it is these two outcomes which are of special significance to the traditional leader since if the workers (his kingroup) are not happy with their jobs (ie. do not display their happiness by singing, etc.), or if the workgroup do not as a result of working together feel more commited to the kin-group for which they are working, then the leader has failed. Thus it is not surprising to find that the conforming supervisors (ie. Polynesians) are those who, in contrast to the self-asserting supervisors (ie. Europeans), tend to emphasise their higher effectiveness in achieving people goals (correlation coefficient 0.30) ie. in achieving a positive socio-emotional climate within the workgroup and between the workgroup and the organisation.

The analysis of job satisfaction revealed that the cultural groups differed in their reported levels of satisfaction with position; this function was interpreted as the supervisors' satisfaction with the leadership and power inherent in his position. To the conforming supervisor, a situation in which he had no formal positional power, but only relied on informal leadership power, would

be seen as a situation in which he had a limited ability to enforce compliance. In the industrial situation, his ascribed status mainly arises from his hierarchical position and consequently he will seek a firm base of positional power (eg. as represented by access to organisational rewards and punishments). However, his social values will also dictate that his position should not separate him too much from his workgroup otherwise they will not be able to see demonstrated his caring for them and may consequently reduce their obligated compliance towards his orders. In a large factory, the position of non-working supervisor can require virtually no interaction with the workers because of additional hierarchical levels between supervisor and workers; consequently, it may be that traditional Polynesians will prefer not to be promoted above the level of "working supervisor" in order to maintain congruence between positional power and close supervisory style.

The significance of "Satisfaction with Position" is viewed in the present study not as an indication of satisfaction level so much as an indication of that dimension of the job which the Polynesian (traditional) supervisors value more highly than the European (modern) supervisors. The fact that the Polynesians have higher levels of satisfaction with position is interpreted within the "principle of congruity" as meaning that in order to feel effective and worthwhile, they need to consider that the organisational structuring of their job is congruent with their needs for that structuring (ie. that they have the positional power they perceive that they need). This interpretation is partly supported by the fact that levels of overall job satisfaction are so similar for all the cultural groups (except Maoris). The similarity of levels of overall job satisfaction (at a moderately high level) indicates that all supervisors are viewing the need satisfaction outcome of their work equally positively, and consequently it may be suggested that any differences in their perceptions

of their situation in the organisation will originate in differences in their social values.

The comparison of the relationships between differences in social values and differences in constructs of power as related to the cultural groups has suggested that social values do indeed form a meaningful framework within which to analyse differences in constructs of power. A Polynesian (traditional) syndrome of conformity in social values and power constructs has been identified in which the various manifestations of conformity in social power orientation (in goals, bases and strategies of power, and outcomes of effectiveness and satisfaction) of the Polynesian supervisor have been seen as being congruent with the Polynesian social values of conformity and obligation. By contrast, a European (modern) syndrome of self-assertion in social values and power constructs may be inferred from the foregoing discussion insofar as it represents in each aspect of supervisory power an opposite approach to that of the Polynesian supervisor.

5. PERSONALITY DIFFERENCES AND CONSTRUCTS OF POWER

A general hypothesis guiding the present study was that differences in personality between cultural groups would be reflected in differences in constructs of power. Table 35 presents the correlation coefficients between Cognitive Style, Tolerance of Ambiguity and the various constructs of power.

Table 35

Correlations between Personality and Constructs of Power

	Cognitive Style	Goal (Quality)	Goal (Friendly)	Base (Referent)	Base (Coercive)
Cognitive Style	- -	0.15**	-0.16**	-0.12**	-0.13**
Tolerance of Ambiguity	0.23*	0.16**	-0.15**	-0.18**	-0.23*

	Strategy (Surveill.)	Strategy (Aggrand.)	Effect. (Socio-Emot.)	Satis. (Position)	Overall Satis.
Cognitive Style	-0.18**	-0.25*	-0.09	0.08	0.03
Tolerance of Ambiguity	-0.33*	-0.27*	-0.16**	-0.17**	-0.19**

* Sig. level 0.001 (one-tailed
** Sig. level 0.05 (one-tailed)

all other correlations not significant

Cognitive Style refers to the individual's ability to disembed his perceptual field, in effect, to differentiate between parts of his field. Tolerance of Ambiguity refers to the individual's ability to cope with ambiguities in his field without resorting to a simple dichotomous set of attitudes where phenomena are classified as positive or negative extremes. The latter personality construct was earlier viewed as being positively associated with Cognitive

Style though the correlation of 0.23 is not high enough to suggest that they are merely the same construct. However, the general trend of relationships between both personality measures and power constructs is similar. In the case of work goals, both Cognitive Style and Tolerance of Ambiguity are correlated positively with "High Quality" and correlated negatively with "Friendliness with Workers" (albeit with weak levels of correlation). Field Independence was revealed in the literature to be associated with technical and abstract orientations, characteristic of a materialist environment in which social relationships and stability are highly valued. Thus the weak positive association between Field Independence and Higher Quality, and the weak negative association with Friendliness as work goals are supportive of the literature, in that Higher Quality represents a striving for technical improvement whilst Friendliness represents a striving for better relationships. These findings are somewhat supportive of Gruenfeld (1970) who found positive associations between Task-Oriented leadership and Field Independence, and between Socially-Oriented leadership and Field Dependence. Results of a number of studies conducted by Gruenfeld showed that Field Independents responded more actively and analytically to a variety of tasks, and were "more discriminating in their rating of others and less likely to succumb to the halo effect in describing others' abilities. . .conversely Field Dependents are not only socially oriented, but also subscribe to a considerate, tactful cooperative style of supervision. They fail to differentiate among others' individual differences, especially on a competency related dimension, and are susceptible to the halo effect in their ratings of others' abilities" (Gruenfeld, 1970, p. 15). Tolerance of Ambiguity was also found to be associated with both goals and this is supportive of the original association of this construct of personality with orientation to stable

social relationships and lack of skill in abstract and technical problem-solving (Frenkel-Brunswick, 1949).

Cognitive Style is shown in Table 35 above to be weakly (negatively) correlated with Referent and Coercive Bases of Power, and Tolerance of Ambiguity is also negatively correlated with/ both Bases, though at a slightly higher level of significance. The association between social traditionalism and Cognitive Style, which is so well established in the literature (Witkin and Berry, 1975), suggests that the social conformity which is so characteristic of social traditionalism would be related to the traditional (Polynesian) supervisors' Bases of Referent and Coercive power. This relationship is due to the significance of Referent-Coercive power as resources to enforce compliance in a conforming society. Thus, as expected, Field Dependent (traditional) supervisors have higher orientations to Referent-Coercive bases of power than do Field Dependent (modern) supervisors.

Intolerance of Ambiguity was shown (Frenkel-Brunswick, 1949) to arise from the coercive pattern of child-rearing characteristic of a traditional society in which the dependency of the child towards his parents is maintained both by the particular socio-emotional style of traditional parenthood, and by the mediation of rewards and punishments by the parents. Thus some association may be drawn between intolerance of ambiguity and a pattern of traditional (Polynesian) leadership which emphasises to the potential deviant the close emotional ties and the tangible rewards and punishments mediated by the leader.

The close association between the Bases of Power and Power Strategies in the present study is indicated by the fact that both measures of personality are negatively correlated with both Power Strategies, just as they were negatively correlated with Power Bases (albeit the correlations with Power Strategies

are at higher levels of significance). For the traditional (Polynesian) supervisor, the referent-coercive power base is inextricably linked with his surveillance/aggrandisement power strategies in that he seeks to enforce conformity by establishing himself in the traditional mode of leadership ie. as the "loving but watchful father" of the workgroup. The association of Intolerance of Ambiguity with authoritarianism (Adorno et al. 1950) is reflected in the negative correlation (-0.33 and -0.27) between Tolerance of Ambiguity and (traditional) Power Strategies. However, the Polynesian form of authoritarianism is not necessarily the same as that analysed by Adorno in America, and by many other writers who have observed it in traditional societies around the world. Polynesian power strategies are equally directed towards compliance and submission towards the accepted order, but not in such a punitive manner as other forms of authoritarianism (cf. the low significance of <u>physical</u> punishment in ancient Polynesia versus the high significance of the <u>social</u> punishment of "shaming").

Differences in Supervisory Effectiveness between the cultural groups were based on a function dealing with the achievement of "people-goals" ie. worker happiness and commitment to the company. This function was not significantly correlated with Cognitive Style although the correlation coefficient was negative; a negative correlation was expected in that Field Dependent subjects would tend to be oriented toward people-goals. Tolerance of Ambiguity was also correlated negatively (at a significant level) with "people-goals" indicating that a weak relationship exists between the personality of the more traditional subjects, and their orientation to socio-emotional supervisory effectiveness..

Cognitive Style was not found to be significantly related to Satisfaction with Position, or Overall Satisfaction. However, Tolerance of Ambiguity was positively correlated with the former and negatively correlated with the latter

measure of satisfaction. These differences between the two measures of personality are consistent throughout all the correlations with power constructs in that Tolerance of Ambiguity tends to be more highly correlated with each power construct than is Cognitive Style. Thus in the case of Effectiveness and measures of satisfaction whilst correlations with Cognitive Style become insignificant, the correlations with Tolerance of Ambiguity are only reduced to a lower level of significance. Tolerance of Ambiguity is clearly more closely related to constructs of power in the present study than is Cognitive Style.

The negative correlation between Tolerance of Ambiguity and Satisfaction with Position is consistent with the previous finding regarding the relationship between Tolerance and Power constructs in that Satisfaction with Position is associated with a traditional, conforming style of supervision. Furthermore, it is interesting to note that Overall Satisfaction is negatively correlated with Tolerance of Ambiguity in that the more tolerant the supervisor is, the less satisfied he is with his job.

6. THE IMPACT OF ORGANISATIONAL FACTORS ON CONSTRUCTS OF POWER

The empirical research on which this study is based was guided by a number of general hypotheses which suggested that supervisors' constructs of power are a function of their personality and social values. These hypotheses have been duly tested and shown to have considerable support from the data. However, it is necessary at this point to test to what extent these relationships are a function of culture or to what extent they are a function of organisational factors.

Hypothesis

- There is a significant relationship between cultural group and each supervisory construct of power once the effects of Position, Length of Service, Age, and Company are adjusted for.

In order to test this hypothesis an Analysis of Variance was performed on each construct of power in which the particular effect of cultural groups was examined after the effects of all other variables were adjusted for. Table 36 presents the results of these Analyses of Variance showing that the hypothesis is supported for all constructs except work goals.

In the case of work goals, there was a significant relationship between each goal (ie. Quality, and Friendliness) and position, suggesting that the most important effect of the organisation in determining supervisors' attitudes towards their work goals is the level of the supervisor.

However, the highly significant relationships between Cultural Group and Power Bases, Power Strategies, Effectiveness, and Satisfaction, suggest that even though organisational factors may play a part in determining a supervisors' constructs of power, the particular ways in which culture determines constructs of power are substantially unaffected by organisational factors.

Table 36

Analyses of Variance of Power Constructs Explained by Cultural Group when Controlling for Company, Position, Service, and Age

Power Construct	Sum of Squares	F	Sig. of F
Goals (Quality)	14.585	1.918	0.128
Goals (Friendliness)	5.432	0.499	0.684
Base (Referent)	54.088	24.615	0.000
Base (Coercive)	31.181	13.137	0.000
Strategy (Surveillance)	45.244	17.856	0.000
Strategy (Aggrandisement)	36.380	8.806	0.000
Effect. (Socio-Emot.)	30.535	13.517	0.000
Satis. with Position	17.613	6.350	0.000
Overall satisfaction	10.307	4.572	0.004

(Degrees of Freedom = 3)

PART V CONCLUSIONS

1. Findings

The empirical research on which this study is based was guided by a number of general hypotheses regarding the four cultural groups studied, namely:

(a) that by contrasting European and Polynesian groups, comparison was being made between relatively modern and relatively traditional cultural groups.

(b) that these broader differences would be associated with corresponding differences between the groups in personality and social values.

(c) that these individual differences in personality and social values would be associated with corresponding differences in the way that power and influences in their jobs was construed by the supervisors.

Culture was defined for the purposes of the present study as "a system of symbols and meanings in terms of which a particular group of people make sense of their world, communicate with each other, and plan and live their lives" (Metge, 1976, p. 45) which may arise from "any homogeneous society of substantial geographic extent" (Murdoch, 1963, p. 249). The cultural groups were defined in the present study according to the critical dimension suggested in the literature, namely the distinct society where the subject was born and brought up as a child. On this basis, four cultural groups were identified:

Group 1 - Non-indigenous European (of British origin).

Group 2 - Indigenous European (Pakeha).

Group 3 - Indigenous Polynesian (mainly Maori).

Group 4 - Non-indigenous Polynesian (of Pacific Island origin).

Review of the anthropological and sociological literature suggested that a syndrome of Social Traditionalism could be utilised to differentiate cultural groups (societies) between those which are primarily Modern and those which are primarily Traditional.

In Part I of this report, the cultural groups were reviewed comparatively in turn of their traditionalism and modernity by reference to the relevant literature dealing with Ecology, Economic Systems, Social Organisation, Socialisation and Social Values.

Significant differences were found between the cultural groups on these various dimensions. A summary of these differences is presented below.

	"Traditional" ⟵			⟶ "Modern"
	Group 4	Group 3	Group 2	Group 1
Economic system	Subsistence agriculture.	Primarily pastoral with small industrial sector.	Primarily pastoral with small industrial sector.	Highly industrialised.
Social organisation	"Tight" society. Ascriptive status.	"Tight". Ascriptive/ achiev. status.	"Loose". Achiev. status.	"Loose" society. Achiev. status.
	Extended family. Conformity.	Extended family. Conformity.	Nuclear family. Individualism.	Nuclear family. Individualism.
Child-rearing	Harsh.	Harsh.	Permissive.	Permissive.
Social values	Traditional.			Modern.
Socio-Economic status	Low.			High.

This review of the literature supported the first general hypotheses in that the characteristics of traditional societies were shown to be related to the Polynesian groups, whilst the characteristics of modern societies were shown to be related to the European groups. Differences between the two Polynesian groups were, however, caused by two important factors.

(a) The Pacific Islanders (group 4) had been raised in a highly traditional society and had not been exposed to the modernising influences related to life

in New Zealand that the Maoris (group 3) had been exposed to during their childhood. These influences were identified as primarily industrial exposure, urban living, and the factor of being a minority ethnic group in a majority European culture.

(b) The Pacific Islanders had emigrated (voluntarily) from their homeland to New Zealand whereas the Maoris were, by definition, indigenous. Thus group 4 contained subjects who did not necessarily share the same characteristics as indigenous Pacific Islanders, whilst Maoris could be presumed to share characteristics identified in various studies of Maoris carried out in New Zealand.

The Pacific Islanders (group 4) were generally held to be more "traditional" than the Maoris (group 3) except insofar as the personality or attitude characteristics of the emigrant distinguished them from the Maoris (ie. a possible "modern" characteristic).

Differences between the two European groups could also be summarised as:

(a) The British (group 1) had been more exposed to the modernising influences of urban living and industrial exposure than had the Pakehas (group 3) since whilst Britain may be described as a "city urban-industrial" environment, New Zealand would be described as a "small town/pastoral" environment.

(b) The British had emigrated to New Zealand and in fact shared this characteristic with the Pacific Islanders whereas both indigenous New Zealand groups were not emigrants at the time of the study.

The British (group 1) were thus generally held to be more "modern" than the Pakehas (group 2). However, whilst the four groups could be categorised along a dimension of Traditionalism in the order group 4, 3, 2, 1, it was

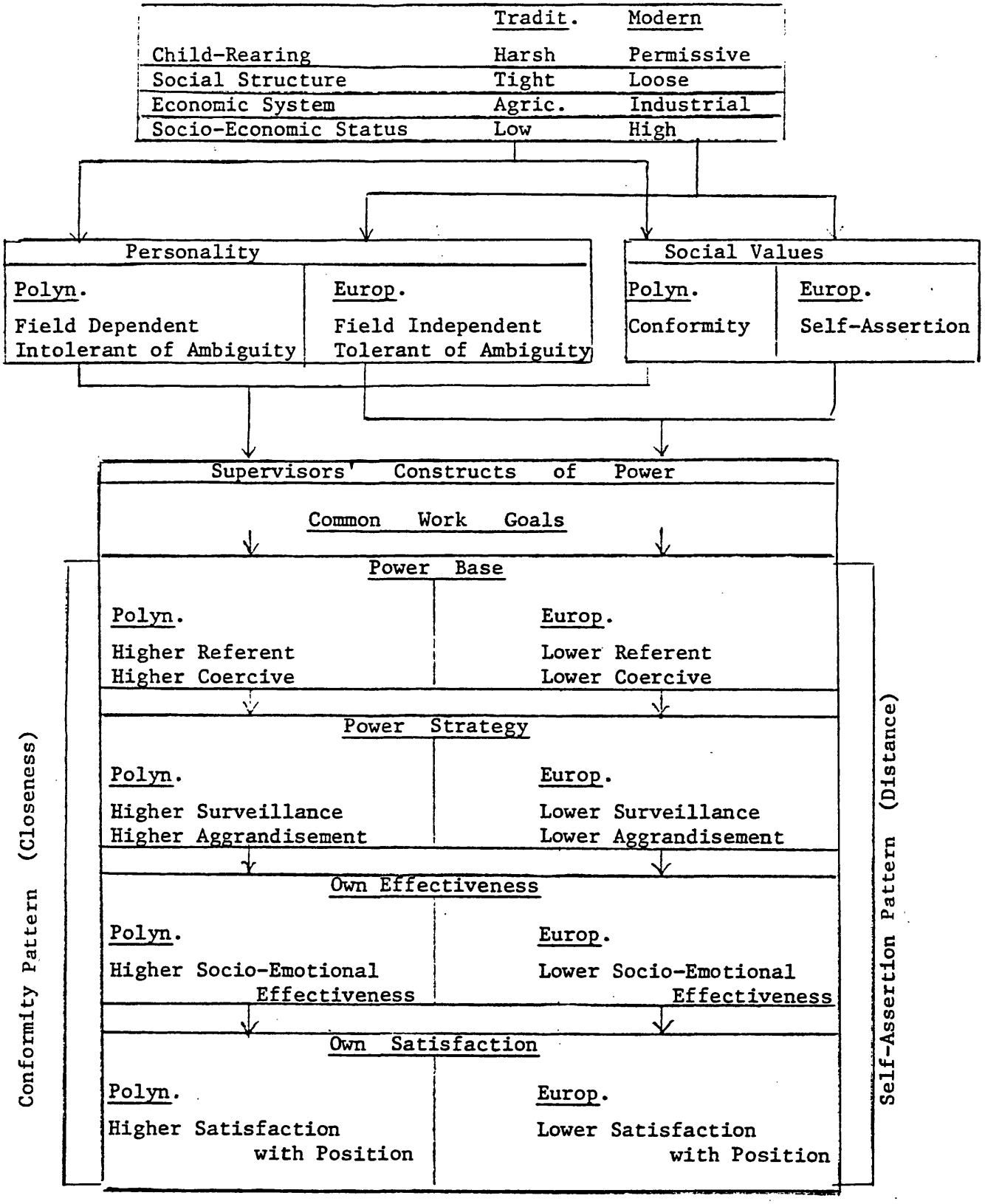
recognised that the major differences in culture were between groups 1 and 2 (European) and groups 3 and 4 (Polynesian) since both these sub-groups showed (historically speaking) a common culture in that Maoris originated from Polynesia and Pakehas mostly originated from Britain.

Analysis of data was performed to test the hypothesised relationships between culture and both personal characteristics (ie. Socio-Economic Status, Personality, and Social Values) and job-related characteristics (ie. Work Goals, Power Base, Power Strategy, Effectiveness, and Satisfaction). The general hypothesis which was tested was that Culture determined Power Constructs through the intervening effect of Personality and Social Values.

The research model presented above (see Introduction) suggested that the antecedents of culture were factors such as Social Structure, Economic System, Socialisation, and Socio-Economic Status. These antecedents could be distinguished along a dimension of Social Traditionalism and they determined both distinctive Personality characteristics and particular social values. The industrial first-line supervisor was seen as an individual placed in position within an organisation which creates its own "culture" through its rules, norms, values, hierarchy, and organisation of functions. The position of the supervisor requires him to exert power and influence over his subordinates so that they comply in their behavior and attitudes with the requirements imposed by the organisation. In his position, he thus has a set of work goals and a set of power resources, some of which relate solely to his position (eg. organisational sanctions, and legitimacy of position) and some to himself as a person (eg. expertise and experience and referent resources). It was suggested that on the basis of his personality and his social values, he would develop a power strategy, that is a characteristic pattern of acting to achieve compliance

Figure 8

CULTURAL DIFFERENCES IN SUPERVISORS' CONSTRUCTS OF POWER



amongst his workers. Finally, the outcomes of his interaction with workers were held to include perceptions of his own effectiveness in achieving work goals, and his job satisfaction.

The Findings of the study are summarised in Figure 8. Cultural Differences between Polynesian and European groups were found to result in the expected differences in Cognitive Style and Tolerance of Ambiguity. The traditional (Polynesian) groups were more field dependent indicating that they are less able to differentiate their environment, whilst the modern (European) group were more field independent,indicating higher skills in differentiation. Polynesian groups were found to be less tolerant of Ambiguity than European groups. This indicated a tendency to attach strongly positive or negative values to aspects of their social field, rather than viewing issues as necessarily complex and somewhat ambiguous. These personality differences were shown to be highly related to traditional and modern orientations as suggested in the literature.

Two dimensions of Social Values were identified in the study; these were Conformity versus Self Assertion, and Personal Efficacy versus Fatalism. Polynesian groups were shown to be more oriented towards Social Conformity whilst European groups were more oriented towards values denoting Self-Assertion. Conformity values were associated with obligation to help kin, to respect traditional values, and to support and be protected by ones primary work group. Self-assertion values were associated with being independent of kin group, respect modern values, orientation to change and upward mobility.

The dimension of Personal Efficacy versus Fatalism was, however, associated with the cultural groups in a different way. Group 1 (British) and group 4 (Pacific Island) were oriented towards Personal Efficacy whilst group 2 (Pakeha) and group 3 (Maori) were more oriented towards Fatalism. It was suggested that

this second dimension of Social Values, which was not correlated with Conformity versus Self-Assertion, was distinguishing between the social values of those who leave their country of origin (ie. groups 1 and 4) with those who remain (ie. groups 2 and 3). Personal Efficacy values were associated with sharing ideas about change, making decisions oneself, and exploiting opportunities. Fatalism was associated with an exactly opposite set of values.

Analysis of the constructs of power (ie. Base, Strategy, Effectiveness, Satisfaction) of the supervisors revealed that the cultural groups construed power differently, and furthermore, that these differences were not only internally consistent but were congruent with the differences in personality and social values. It was suggested that power was construed according to two different Patterns:

(a) Conformity Pattern. Power is viewed as emanating from the close and all-embracing nature of the relationship between leader and worker. This pattern which was characteristic of the Polynesian groups can be interpreted within the context of traditional Polynesian working life where the workgroup is also the kingroup and the workgroup leader is typically also the head of the household (ie. most senior member). Thus, the relationship between worker and leader is one of respect and love, and power is exercised on the twin bases of status and affect. The closeness of the relationship refers not only to socio-emotional closeness but also to physical proximity in that the leader demonstrates his caring for the group by the actions which they see him perform. Traditional leadership of the Polynesian type can be characterised as "the loving but watchful father" who acts together with his group in their mutual service by enforcing the norms and rules traditionally laid down to define that service.

(b) Self-Assertion Pattern. Power is viewed more as being exercised from a distance in which the relationship between leader and worker is only directed towards achieving the functional organisation goals. Work and personal life are viewed as two different (and even conflicting) domains to be kept separated, rather than to be integrated. The leader is appointed on the basis of his personal achievement rather than on his ascribed status; the workgroup are members who act together at work solely for the purposes of achieving organisational goals, which achievement in itself provides individual rewards for them. It is a leadership pattern in which the leader does not owe the group any allegiance, his obligation as such is based on his contractual relationship with the company rather than on a social obligation to his workgroup.

The conformity pattern was distinguished from the self-assertion syndrome in that it included the construing of Referent/ Coercive Bases of Power, Surveillance and Aggrandisement Strategies of Power, and power outcomes of socio-emotional effectiveness and satisfaction with position. Whilst there was some relationship between Conformity and the goal of Friendliness with Workers, and between Self-Assertion and the Goal of High Quality, this was shown to be largely a function of position (ie. whether the supervisor had a working or non-working position) rather than culture although group 4 was distinguished from other groups in its higher attachment to Friendliness and lower attachment to Quality.

The Referent-Coercive Base of Power within the Conformity pattern consisted of the maintenance of close personal relationships with workers as well as access to reward and punishment sanctions. The integrated nature of this Base was demonstrated by the positive correlation between Referent and Coercive responses. The traditional role of the workgroup leader in Polynesian society

involved referent and coercive bases because the workgroup was also the kin-group.

By contrast, the role of the leader in European society is based on functional achievement in which he treats his workers with the respect due to independent individuals, rather than an internally-obligated close-knit group. The close personal relationship between leader and worker may be seen negatively, as demonstrating favoritism and undermining the authority of the leader.

Power Strategies were also found to be related to the Conformity/Self Assertion dichotomy. Two Strategy dimensions were identified as being linked to differences between the groups:

(i) Surveillance for Conformity - ie. structuring jobs in order to easily check workers' performances.

(ii) Power Aggrandisement - ie. relying on backing and support of his boss to get workers' compliance.

Polynesian supervisors were found to emphasise Surveillance and Aggrandisement more strongly than did European supervisors. In traditional Polynesian society, the main form of social control is surveillance in that social life is organised in small units (eg. Kingroups, small villages) in which the activities and behaviors of each person are highly visible to each other (eg. "open" housing, shared plots of land, communal living). Deviance is thus highly visible and it is the constant threat of surveillance (and the ensuing application of sanctions of social shame or social approval) which may provide part of the motivation to conform, both to the specific rules and norms of the social group and to generalised values such as fatalism and low innovation. It should be noted, however, that the surveillance is in effect structured both in the traditional setting and by the supervisor in the factory setting, the Polynesian supervisor does not "stand over" his workers to enforce conformity but the system

provides him with the information he needs and the workers know it.

Power Aggrandisement is a strategy highly relevant to a traditional society, such as Polynesia, in which status and power are largely determined by position status (ie. as determined mainly by birth). The individual can only gain in positional status through his association with those who are higher in status than he is. In the factory, the Polynesian supervisor may feel that he has relatively low position status within the context of the organisational hierarchy and may seek to gain power vicariously by his association with his bosses status without, however, getting too distant from his workgroup. It is a matter of balancing positional status (and the power which accrues from it) with socio-emotional closeness to the workers (and the power which also accrues from this).

The European, however, holds values that tend to reject the need for close surveillance or close personal relationships with workers. Close supervision is seen more negatively as "getting on the workers' backs", or "getting too friendly with workers". Similarly, Power Aggrandisement is seen as less important when social norms emphasise achieved rather than ascribed positional status. Reliance on the bosses positional status may be seen negatively as resulting in a loss of self-respect and workers respect ie. "crawling" to the boss, "hiding behind" the bosses power.

The supervisor's perception of his own effectiveness in achieving work goals was also viewed as a function of his social values in that it was held that he would see himself as more effective on those dimensions which he personally valued more. The Polynesian supervisors were found to attribute to themselves higher effectiveness than did Europeans in achieving "people" or "socio-emotional" goals ie. happiness of the workers with their jobs, and with the company. In traditional Polynesian society, the work leader maintains his

status by his demonstration of his caring and service for his workgroup. The functional goals (eg. higher production, better quality) are less important in that it is considered sufficient in a subsistence society to only produce enough to feed the kingroup; in fact, social values mitigate against high functional achievement. Socio-emotional goals of service to the group and happiness of the group members are more highly valued especially as work and social activities are not differentiated in traditional Polynesian society; work should be just as enjoyable as any other social activity. This is contrary to the European tendency to view work as a "necessary evil", as something to be kept separate from ones social life with its positive associations.

The European view of socio-emotional work outcomes may be described as being a means to an end, a way of manipulating workers to achieve the valued goals of production, quality, and profit. In this view, if these functional goals can be achieved without making workers happy then so much the better.

The perception of supervisors' satisfaction with various dimensions of the job was also viewed as being related to social values in that supervisors would tend to differ in satisfaction with those dimensions of the job which they valued more highly. This interpretation was partly supported by the generally similar levels of the cultural groups' overall job satisfaction (except for group 3) indicating a similarly positive view concerning the job as a whole. The job dimension of satisfaction which did differentiate between the cultural groups was identified as Satisfaction with Position. Polynesian supervisors were more satisfied than were Europeans with factors within the Company which supported their active construing of power (ie. their particular approach to exercising supervisory power). The company structure and policies and the job specification for the supervisory position provide the Conformity-oriented supervisor both with a clear set of rules and goals to orient his

exercising of power towards, and a set of sanctions, rights, and obligations vested within his position as supervisor. This structuring of the organisation and of the position supports the Polynesian supervisors' conformity-oriented construing of power, but is of less importance to the European self-oriented construing of power.

2. Implications

This study has essentially demonstrated that differences between supervisors' constructs of power can be a function of their cultural differences. Reviewers of the leadership literature have suggested (eg. Stogdill, 1974) that such variables as social values, ethnicity, and personality should be included in research design, but to date, there have been few attempts to explore the impact of culture on the way a supervisor exerts power over his workers. The results in the present study have demonstrated that culture is in fact a very powerful determinant of supervisory attitudes given that the group with the most traditional power constructs (group 4) had, nonetheless, experienced a long period of industrial exposure (mean = 11.8 years) and exposure to city life in New Zealand. The fact that their construing of power was so different to that of European groups suggests that socialisation during childhood is of great importance in affecting a supervisor's attitudes, notwithstanding the impact of subsequent organisational socialisation.

Another implication of the present study is that the conceptual framework of power has been shown to be useful for the examination of cultural differences in supervisory attitudes. Since Cartwright's (1965) major review of the power literature, there have been few attempts to operationalise the model of power implicitly put forward by him. Most attention has been paid by researchers to studies of French and Raven's (1959) five bases of power, which

leave answered the critical question of why differences are found in attachment to bases of power. The present study has demonstrated an internal consistency between social values of power, power bases, power strategies, and valuations of dimensions of effectiveness of organisational conditions which facilitate the exercise of power.

However, in utilising a model of power, it has been shown to be necessary for the researcher in a cross-cultural study to avoid projecting his own constructs of power (or those of the literature dominated as it is by "western" cultural constructs of power) onto other cultures; the analytic procedure of Discriminant Analysis provides the researcher with a way of understanding power as it is construed by the subject. One of the major conceptualisations of power in the literature has been the notion of a dichotomy which is expressed in different ways according to the construct of power:

(a) Goals - Task Goals orientation versus People Goals orientation.

(b) Power Strategy - Autocratic (tough) versus Democratic (considerate).

(c) Base of Power - Coercive versus Referent.

However, in the present study, this dichotomising of power has been shown to be not applicable to the cultural groups studied in that the differences between the groups lie not in the difference between task and people orientations, but rather in differences in the intensity of both task and people orientations. Polynesian supervisors construed power relationships as containing both close affect and close control dimensions whereas European supervisors were more inclined to view the relationship as distant, both in affect and control. These results may be compared with Gibb's (1970) typology of the emotional and cognitive components of leader-member relations:

(a) Patriarchy - where the degrees of fear and affection are both high.

(b) Tyranny - where fear is high and affection minimal.

(c) Charismatic Leadership - where affection is high and fear minimal.

(d) Instrumental Leadership - where both fear and affection are minimal.

The results in the present study suggest that Polynesian supervisors are more assoicated with Patriarchy whilst European supervisors are more associated with Instrumental Leadership. The one emphasises closeness in an intensive relationship between supervisor and worker, which echoes the primary nature of relationship in Traditional Polynesian life, whilst the other emphasises distance in a "low-key" relationship between supervisor and worker, which echoes the instrumentality of the work relationship to the European supervisor.

These findings suggest that further research should be conducted in constructs of power using a cross-cultural research design. to establish the degree of variation, if any, of power constructs between traditional societies and between modern societies. Also, perhaps the most significant weakness of the present study is that no measurement has been made of the workers' constructs of power, more specifically of the degree of congruence between the supervisor and his workers construing of power. To what extent do supervisors adjust their view of power to take account of differing views of workers and different demands imposed by the situation? Research design should, in future, take into account both situational (eg. technology, workgroup size, etc.), and group member (eg. values, expectations, personality, etc.) characteristics in order to study the interactional effect between supervisor, situation, and worker and thus to further clarify the significance of culture in the construing of power.

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APPENDICES

DISCRIMINANT ANALYSIS

Discrim. Funct.	Eigen-value	Rel. %	Canon. Correl.	Functions derived	Wilks' Lambda	Chi-Sq.	DF	Sig.
(1) SOCIAL VALUES								
1	0.78422	82.95	0.663	0	0.4808	143.890	27	0.000
2	0.12631	13.36	0.335	1	0.8579	30.120	16	0.017
3	0.03494	3.70	0.184	2	0.9662	6.748	7	0.456

Standardized Discriminant Function Coefficients

	Func 1	Func 2	Func 3
QA38	-0.32053	-0.11887	-0.72564
QA41	-0.35824	-0.15574	0.04190
QA50	-0.22818	-0.07919	0.23845
QA54	-0.18097	-0.45089	-0.33747
QA60	-0.19836	0.26725	0.21800
QA61	0.16477	0.42295	-0.53812
QA68	-0.33046	-0.05100	0.08593
QA70	-0.00482	0.69940	0.06466
QA72	-0.37753	0.08087	0.15888

(2) POWER BASE (COERCIVE)								
1	0.25026	92.97	0.447	0	0.7850	51.809	6	0.000
2	0.01892	7.03	0.136	1	0.9814	4.012	2	0.135

Standardized Discriminant Function Coefficients

	Func 1	Func 2
QA35	0.70986	-0.73518
QA37	0.57305	0.84619

(3) POWER BASE (REFERENT)								
1	0.51700	97.19	0.584	0	0.6495	87.821	9	0.000
2	0.01464	2.75	0.120	1	0.9853	3,015	4	0.555
3	0.00028	0.05	0.017	2	0.9997	0.057	1	0.811

Standardized Discriminant Function Coefficients

	Func 1	Func 2	Func 3
QA31	-0.44593	1.06594	0.38414
QA32	-0.57175	-1.02962	0.29014
QA34	-0.22312	0.04732	-1.04973

Discrim. Funct.	Eigen-value	Rel. %	Canon. Correl.	Functions derived	Wilks' Lambda	Chi-Sq.	DF	Sig.
(4) POWER STRATEGIES								
1	0.57448	76.50	0.604	0	0.5377	121.603	24	0.000
2	0.14350	19.11	0.354	1	0.8466	32.634	14	0.003
3	0.03293	4.39	0.179	2	0.9681	6,351	6	0.385

Standardized Discriminant Function Coefficients

	Func 1	Func 2	Func 3
QA02	0.29071	-0.07528	-0.39647
QA04	-0.11384	-0.34348	-0.42298
QA09	0.08907	-0.85939	0.08435
QA12	0.35479	0.05074	-0.40320
QA13	0.36726	0.42820	0.57069
QA15	0.17116	0.44933	-0.45909
QA17	-0.36791	0.03859	0.18952
QA22	0.38583	0.02004	0.20870

(5) EFFECTIVENESS (SOCIO-EMOTIONAL)								
1	0.20931	93.82	0.416	0	0.8157	43.397	6	0.000
2	0.01378	6.18	0.117	1	0.9864	2.915	2	0.233

Standardized Discriminant Function Coefficients

	Func 1	Func 2	Func 3
QA43	0.60666	-1.18597	
QA45	0.48949	1.23893	

(6) SATISFACTION WITH POSITION								
1	0.16397	86.53	0.375	0	0.8376	37.298	9	0.000
2	0.01540	8.13	0.123	1	0.9750	5.337	4	0.254
3	0.01012	5.34	0.100	2	0.9900	2.120	1	0.145

Standardized Discriminant Function Coefficients

	Func 1	Func 2	Func 3
QA48	-0.43595	-0.46022	0.80955
QA56	-0.83546	0.56409	-0.67290
QA57	0.67992	0.65311	0.69192

(QUESTIONNAIRE A)

NAME (In BLOCK CAPITALS)_____

FIRST NAME SURNAME (LAST NAME)

AGE_____years

1. HERE ARE SEVEN (7) THINGS THAT MOST SUPERVISORS TRY TO DO. SHOW HOW IMPORTANT THESE THINGS ARE TO YOU BY WRITING 1 BESIDE THE THING YOU TRY MOST TO DO IN YOUR JOB. THEN WRITE 2 BESIDE THE THING YOU TRY NEXT HARDEST TO DO, AND SO ON UNTIL YOU WRITE 7 BESIDE THE LAST REMAINING THING.

_____ To get high levels of production from your workers

_____ To get your workers to think that this company is a good place to work

_____ To get high quality work from your workers

_____ To help your workers feel happy with the jobs they do

_____ To keep accident rates low in your department

_____ To have friendly relationships with your workers

_____ To have low rates of absence from work by your workers

CIRCLE ONE NUMBER TO SHOW HOW MUCH YOU DO EACH OF THE FOLLOWING THINGS. IF YOU CIRCLE 1 YOU ARE SAYING YOU DO THAT THING VERY LITTLE INDEED. IF YOU CIRCLE 5 YOU ARE SAYING YOU DO IT A GREAT DEAL. CIRCLE ONLY ONE NUMBER FOR EACH QUESTION.

* 1 To a very little extent | 2 To a little extent | 3 To some extent | 4 To a great extent | 5 To a very great exte

2. To what extent do you try to get your workers to do their jobs well by letting them know how you really feel about how they are working? 1 -5

3. To what extent do you try to avoid developing close friendships with your workers? 1 - 5

4. To what extent do you always try to approach all your workers in a friendly manner? 1 -5

5. To what extent do you try to get your workers to feel that you are a good supervisor? 1 - 5

6. To what extent do you try to get your workers to feel that you really care about them? 1 - 5

7.	To what extent do you try to behave in such a way that all your workers will always think that you are fair?	1 - 5
8.	To what extent do you let your workers know when you are angry or upset because they are not doing what you have told them to do?	1 - 5
9.	To what extent do you rely on the backing and support of your boss to get your workers to do what you want them to do?	1 - 5
10.	To what extent do you insist that your workers obey your instructions since you know more about the job than they do?	1 - 5
11.	To what extent do you get your workers to do what you want by rewarding them when they do well?	1 - 5
12.	To what extent do you threaten your workers with punishment if they fail to follow your instructions?	1 - 5
13.	To what extent do you point out to your workers that you are only following company rules when you insist that they do the job the way you want them to do it?	1 - 5
14.	To what extent do you insist that your workers do exactly what you tell them to do because you are responsible for getting the job done?	1 - 5
15.	To what extent do you try to find out what your workers think about how the job should be done because you feel their views can be just as important as yours?	1 - 5
16.	To what extent do you insist that your workers take their lunch and tea breaks promptly at fixed times?	1 - 5

17. To what extent do you try to ensure that each worker has only one or two things that you expect him to do at any one time? 1 - 5

18. To what extent do you try to simplify the tasks you give your workers so that they know exactly what has to be done? 1 - 5

19. To what extent do you try to set and enforce detailed standards regarding quality of work you expect from your workers? 1 - 5

20. To what extent do you try to give a clear instruction to your workers so that they know exactly what it is you want them to do? 1 - 5

21. To what extent do you allow workers to do the same job in different ways so long as they produce the results you want? 1 - 5

22. To what extent do you organise the jobs of your workers so that you can easily check whether the job is being properly done? 1 - 5

IN EACH OF THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS CIRCLE EITHER a b or c TO SHOW WHICH OF THE THREE THINGS YOU ARE MOST LIKELY TO DO IN THAT SITUATION. CIRCLE ONLY ONE LETTER FOR EACH QUESTION.

23. Suppose a good worker in your Department has had to be sent home twice because he came to work after he has been drinking a lot. How would you deal with the failure of his to comply with company rules about coming to work drunk?
(PLEASE CIRCLE ONLY ONE ANSWER)

a Fire him, or send him up to higher management for dismissal

b Give him another chance to encourage him to change his ways

c Show him that his behaviour is dangerous to his workmates

24. Suppose you have a worker in your Department you don't like and you want moved to another Department. Which of these things would you do to get him moved from your Department? (PLEASE CIRCLE ONLY ONE ANSWER)

a offer to transfer him to a more attractive job.
b Point out to him that it is best for everybody for him to move to another department since only people who get along should work in the same department.
c Give him difficult or unpleasant work to do so that he himself will ask for a transfer to another department.

25. Suppose a worker in your department is working too slowly and his workmates have complained because 'carrying him' has placed an extra burden on them. Which of these things would you do? (CIRCLE ONLY ONE ANSWER)

a Move him to a lower job with less pay.

b Give him more training to get him to work faster.

c Put him with a worker who does the job faster than he.

26. Suppose you have a worker in your department who often works in unsafe ways that could seriously hurt his mates. Which of these things would you do? (PLEASE CIRCLE ONLY ONE ANSWER)

a Tell him that all workers have a responsibility to work in a safe way.

b Give him a written warning that if it occurs again he will be fired.

c Show him that he will get along better with his mates if he shows more concern for their safety.

27. Suppose your workers are producing much less work than other workers doing a similar work, which of these would you do to get more production out of your workers? (PLEASE CIRCLE ONLY ONE ANSWER)

a Warn them that some people will have to be fired unless things improve.

b. Show them that they are losing bonus and other benefits by working so slowly.

c. Tell them that it is their duty to earn their pay by doing a fair day's work.

28. Suppose a worker in your department is producing very poor quality work. Which of these would you be most likely to do? (PLEASE CIRCLE ONLY ONE ANSWER)

a Warn him that he will be stepped down to a job with less pay if he doesn't do a better job.

b Show him that people who do their jobs well get better jobs with more pay.

c Show him that his workmates are doing a better job than he is doing.

29. Suppose you have a number of very good workers in your Department who are qualified for promotion but can only be replaced by workers with much less ability. Which of these things would you be most likely to do to keep them in your Department?
(PLEASE CIRCLE ONLY ONE ANSWER)

a Prevent them from being transferred.

b Encourage them to stay by offering them more overtime and other extra benefits.

c Point out to them that since their skills are badly needed in the department they ought to stay.

30. Here are three different statements about why people should try to do their jobs well.
(CIRCLE ONE ANSWER TO SHOW WHICH OF <u>THESE</u> STATEMENTS YOU AGREE WITH MOST?)

a Because their supervisors and workmates expect them to do their jobs well.

b Because if they work well they will get better job with more pay.

c Because they have a duty to try to do as good a job as possible.

CIRCLE <u>ONE</u> NUMBER TO SHOW WHICH OF THE FIVE ANSWERS IS <u>MOST</u> CORRECT FOR EACH OF THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS. CIRCLE ONLY <u>ONE</u> NUMBER FOR EACH QUESTION

* 1	2	3	4	5	
To a very little extent	To a little extent	To some extent	To a great extent	To a very great extent	
31. To what extent are your workers either related to you or are your close personal friends?					1 - 5
32. To what extent do you <u>get together socially</u> with your workers?					1 - 5
33. To what extent do your workers <u>approach you for help in their personal</u> problems (that is problems not connected with work)?					1 - 5
34. To what extent do your workers <u>like you as a person</u>?					1 - 5
35. To what extent do your workers <u>do what you want them to do because they feel that you can reward them if they cooperate with you</u>?					1 - 5

36. To what extent do you feel your workers do what you tell them to do simply because you are their boss? 1 - 5

37. To what extent do your workers do what you want them to do because they feel that you can punish them if they don't cooperate with you. 1 - 5

38. To what extent do your workers respect you because of your knowledge of the jobs in your Department? 1 - 5

39. To what extent do your workers always do exactly what you tell them to do? 1 - 5

40. To what extent are you successful in achieving low absenteeism (i.e low absence from work) of your workers? 1 - 5

41. To what extent are you successful in achieving friendly relationships with your workers? 1 - 5

42. To what extent are you successful in achieving low accident rates (i.e a low number of accidents) in your department? 1 - 5

43. To what extent are you successful in making your workers happy with their jobs? 1 - 5

44. To what extent are you successful in getting high quality work from your workers? 1 - 5

45. To what extent are you successful in getting your workers to feel happy working for this company? 1 - 5

46. To what extent are you successful in getting high levels of production from your workers? 1 - 5

NOW PLEASE ANSWER A FEW QUESTIONS ABOUT YOUR OWN FEELINGS ABOUT YOUR JOB. CIRCLE ONE NUMBER ONLY FOR EACH QUESTION.

* 1 Not satisfied | 2 Only slightly satisfied | 3 Satisfied | 4 Very satisfied | 5 Extremely satisfied

47. How satisfied are you with the way things are done in this company? 1 - 5

48.	How satisfied are you with your relationship with your immediate boss?	1 - 5
49.	How satisfied are you with your relationship with other supervisors?	1 - 5
50.	How satisfied are you with your pay?	1 - 5
51.	How satisfied are you with your working conditions.	1 - 5
52.	How satisfied are you with your opportunities for getting a more important job in this company?	1 - 5
53.	How satisfied are you with the amount of responsibility you have in your job?	1 - 5
54.	How satisfied are you with the kind of work you have to do in your job?	1 - 5
55.	How satisfied are you that your present job makes good use of your skills and abilities?	1 - 5
56.	To what extent are you satisfied that your job provides you with a sense of achievement (i.e. a sense of doing something worthwhile?)	1 - 5
57.	All in all, how satisfied are you with your job?	1 - 5

CIRCLE ONE NUMBER TO SHOW HOW MUCH YOU AGREE WITH EACH OF THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS. IF YOU CIRCLE 1 YOU ARE SAYING YOU AGREE WITH THE STATEMENT VERY MUCH. IF YOU CIRCLE 5, YOU DISAGREE WITH THE STATEMENT VERY MUCH. ONLY CIRCLE ONE NUMBER FOR EACH QUESTION.

*	1 Strongly agree	2 Agree	3 Undecided	4 Disagree	5 Strongly disagree	
58.	There are only two kinds of people in the world: the weak and the strong.					1 - 5
59.	A person is either a 100% supporter of his country or he isn't.					1 - 5
60.	A person either knows the answer to a question or he doesn't.					1 - 5

61.	There are two kinds of women: the pure and the bad.	1 - 5
62.	Most people are either honest or crooked.	1 - 5
63.	How you feel about a person the first time you meet him is very important.	1 - 5
64.	It doesn't take very long to find out if you can trust a person.	1 - 5
65.	There is only one right way to do anything.	1 - 5

(QUESTIONNAIRE B)

1. NAME_____

2. AGE_____

3. WHAT COUNTRY WERE YOU BORN IN?_____

4. WHERE DID YOU LIVE MOST OF THE TIME WHEN YOU WERE GROWING UP?_____

   WRITE THE PLACE NAME (TOWN, VILLAGE OR CITY)

5. WHICH OF THESE DO YOU CONSIDER YOURSELF TO BE? (CIRCLE THE ANSWER)

   Maori
   Cook Islander
   Samoan
   Tongan
   Pakeha

IF YOU ARE NONE OF THE ABOVE, STATE ON THE LINE BELOW WHAT YOU CONSIDER YOURSELF TO BE

_____

6. Are you married? (CIRCLE ONE ANSWER)

   1. YES 2. NO

7. How many children altogether do you take care of?_____

8. How many other relatives, apart from your wife and children do you help support?

_____

9. How many years altogether have you lived in New Zealand_____year

10. Before you came to New Zealand were you: (CIRCLE ONE ANSWER ONLY)

    1. self-employed

    2. working for wages or salary

    3. unemployed or still in school

11. Before you came to New Zealand what work did you do?_____

_____

12. How long (altogether) have you worked in factories?_____years

13. When you were growing up what was the highest amount of people who lived in your household at any time?_____

14. What was the highest level of schooling you reached? (CIRCLE ONE ANSWER)

    1 Primary school

    2 High school

    3 Technical Institute or Trades school

4. Teachers' Training College

5. University

15. What work does your father do? (If your father is retired or dead) what was his last occupation or job?

_____

CIRCLE EITHER a OR b TO SHOW WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING TWO STATEMENTS YOU AGREE WITH MORE

16. Which gets a person ahead faster?

a getting along with people

or b hard work

17. Which is more important to you about the people you work with?

a that they are good at their jobs,

or b that they are friendly.

18. Which do you think is more important in a job?

a How well you get along with people on the job,

or b how interesting the job itself is.

19. Suppose you were going into business and you are looking for a partner, who would you choose as a partner?

a a relative or friend, even though he is not familiar with that kind of business,

or b a person who is not a relative or friend who is very good at that kind of business.

20. What gets good work done?

a friendship and cooperation of people in a group,

or b how hard each person in the group works.

21. Which is more important for a young man who is good at school?

a a job in which he can make a lot of money,

or b a job in which he can be of service to other people but may not make as much money.

22. A young man has to choose between a job he likes and a job his parents prefer for him. Which should he choose?

a the job he prefers,

or b the job his parents prefer.

23. On the whole, when you buy food, how do you usually feel?

a that you,are being cheated,

or b that you are getting honest weight, and good quality food.

24. When you meet someone for the first time do you usually

a trust him because most people are trustworthy,

or b are you careful about trusting him until you get to know him better?

25. Some people say the old ways and beliefs are changing fast, Do you think that this is

a mainly a good thing,

or b mainly a bad thing?

26. Suppose you meet a man who was born in a different country, and who had different customs and ways of thinking than you:

a would you want to get to know him well?

or b would you just as soon not get to know him well?

27. Which should qualify a man to hold high office?

a believing in the old and traditional ways,

or b being well educated.

28. Which do you prefer?

a a job which changes from time to time,

or b a job which stays more or less <u>the same</u> from year to year.

29. A man owns a little factory that makes shoes. He wants to expand his business. Which would help him to make more shoes?

a to hire more workers,

or b to give his present workers more training.

30. An old farmer who is very poor has only one son, 14 years old, and greatly needs this son to help with the family land. But the son wants to stay in school. What should the farmer decide?

a to let the boy attend school,

or b to make the boy work on the land full time.

31. Do you think it is more important for a boy

a to know the Bible

or b to know how to repair machines

32. Which job would you prefer?

a one where you make many decisions by yourself and are responsible for how thingsturn out?

or b one where you make very few decisions yourself and are less responsible for how things turn ou

33. Which job would you take?

a A job that pays well but offers no chance for promotion,

or b A job that pays less but offers good chances for promotion.

34. Which would you like?

a A job which will take a great deal of time and hard work, where you can end up a great success or a complete failure,

or b A job that takes less time and effort but you won't be a failure and you won't be a big success.

35. Where would you like to work?

a In a large factory which pays well,

or b In a small factory which pays less but where everybody knows everybody else.

36. If you had the money to do it, would you prefer to

a continue to work for someone else,

or b start your own business.

37. Which of these would you like your son to be?

a A church minister,

or b A business man.

38. Which of these would you like your son to be?

a An engineer,

or b A teacher.

39. Which of these would you like your son to be?

a A social worker,

or b A shopkeeper

40. Which is more important in choosing a man for high office?

a That he comes from a well-respected family,

or b That he is hard-working.

41. Which do you prefer?

a A job where you work mainly by yourself

or b A job where you work with other people.

42. Which do you prefer?

a To be in a position where people have to do what you tell them to do.

or b To be in a position where you have to win their cooperation before they will do what you want.

43. When you are in a group which of these things do you prefer to do?

a To let other people make the decisions

or b To make decisions yourself.

44. What profession should a young person who is good at school study?

a One in which he can make a lot of money,

or b One in which he can be of service to his community even if he makes less money.

45. Which of these two statements do you agree with most?

a Most people you meet will help you if you need it,

or b If you are not careful people will take advantage of you.

46. Which of these statementsdo you agree with more?

a A boy should be taught new and modern ways of doing things,

or b A boy should be taught the old and traditional ways of doing things.

47. Which of these statements do you agree with more?

a If you keep your eyes open, for the chances that come your way, you can always get ahead.

or b Some people will never get ahead, no matter how well trained they are or how hard they work.

48. Which of these statements do you agree with more?

a No matter how hard you try, some people just wont like you.

or b If you want to be likedyou have to cooperate with other people.

49. Which of these statements do you agree with more?

a Having good friends at work depends on <u>how</u> well you treat the people you work with,

or b The way to have good friends at work is to make sure you are in a department with <u>nice</u> people.

50. Which of these statements do you agree with more?

a People who don't do well in life often work hard, but the chances just don't come their way.

or b Some people just don't use the chances that come their way. If they don't do well, it is their own fault.

51. Which of these statements do you agree with more?

a If you get the right equipment you can always get the job done,

or b Getting the job done depends on working together well as a group.

52. Which of these statements do you agree with more?

a Getting promoted depends on what jobs happen to open up at work.

or b Getting promoted depends on working hard.

53. Which of these statements do you agree with more?

a Leaders are usually people who <u>deserve</u> to hold their positions of leadership,

or b Without the right breaks, even a deserving person cannot become a leader.

54. Which of these statements do you agree with more?

a People are lonely because they don't try to be friendly,

or b There's not much use in trying too hard to please people; if they like you, they like you.

55. Which of these statements do you agree with more?

a Making a good income depends on joining a company that pays well,

or b Making a good income depends on getting more training and qualifications.

56. Which of these statements do you agree with more?

a A skilful leader knows how to smooth over disputes and restore harmony in his group,

or b A skilful leader allows his group to solve their own problems.

57. Which of these statements do you agree with more?

a If you want to do well at work you should get the best possible training for your job,

or b The way to do well at work is for people to stick together to make sure that they are treated fairly.

58. Which of these statements do you agree with more?

a People who are ambitious and work hard, usually get ahead in life,

or b A man born into a poor family usually stays poor even if he works hard.

59. Two 16 year old boys took time out from their work in the apple orchards. They were trying to figure out a way to grow the same amount of apples with fewer hours of work.

a The father of one boy said, "That is a good thing to think about. Tell me your thoughts about how we should change our ways of growing apples."

or b The father of the other boy said, "The way to grow apples is the way we have always done it. Talk about change will waste time, not help".

CIRCLE EITHER a OR b TO SHOW WHICH WAS THE WISER FATHER.

60. Some people say that if your relatives know all about your private affairs they may take advantage of you. What do you think about this?
CIRCLE THE ANSWER YOU AGREE WITH MOST.

a There is a good chance they will do that,

or b There is some change they will do that,

or c There is no chance they will do that.

61. Suppose a young man works in a factory. He has managed to save a very small amount of money. Now, his uncle's son comes to him and tells him that he needs money badly since he has no work at all. How much obligation do you think the factory worker has to share his savings with his first cousin? CIRCLE THE ANSWER YOU AGREE WITH MO

a A great obligation,
or b Some obligation,
or c Hardly any obligation.

EXPLANATORY NOTES FOR THE QUESTIONNAIRES

1. The relationship between the questions and the variables tested in the study is as follows :-

A 1 Goals

A 2-30 Power Strategies

A 31-39 Power Bases

A 40-47 Effectiveness

A 48-57 Satisfaction

A 58-65 Tolerance of Ambiguity

B 1-15 Socio-Economic Status etc.

B 16-61 Social Values

2. *Questionnaire A has had to be retyped. In its original form the scale answers (i.e. 1,2,3,4,5,) for each question were repeated <u>in full</u> on the right hand side of each question.

3. Cognitive Style was measured in this study using the copyrighted "Group Embedded Figures Test" form, which is available to qualified psychologists from :-

National Educational Research Foundation,
Darville House
2, Oxford Road East,
Windsor.